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Miss Folsom Cleveland





Grover Cleveland

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TO THE VOTERS
OF THE
Grand Old Democratic Party,

THE PARTY OF WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON, JACKSON AND THEIR
ILLUSTRIOUS COMPEERS ;

THE PARTY THAT HAS ALWAYS BATTLED FOR PRINCIPLES
AND OFFICIAL INTEGRITY ;

PARTY WHOSE NAME IS SYNONYMOUS WITH ALL THAT IS
ENNOBLING IN THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY ;

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED,

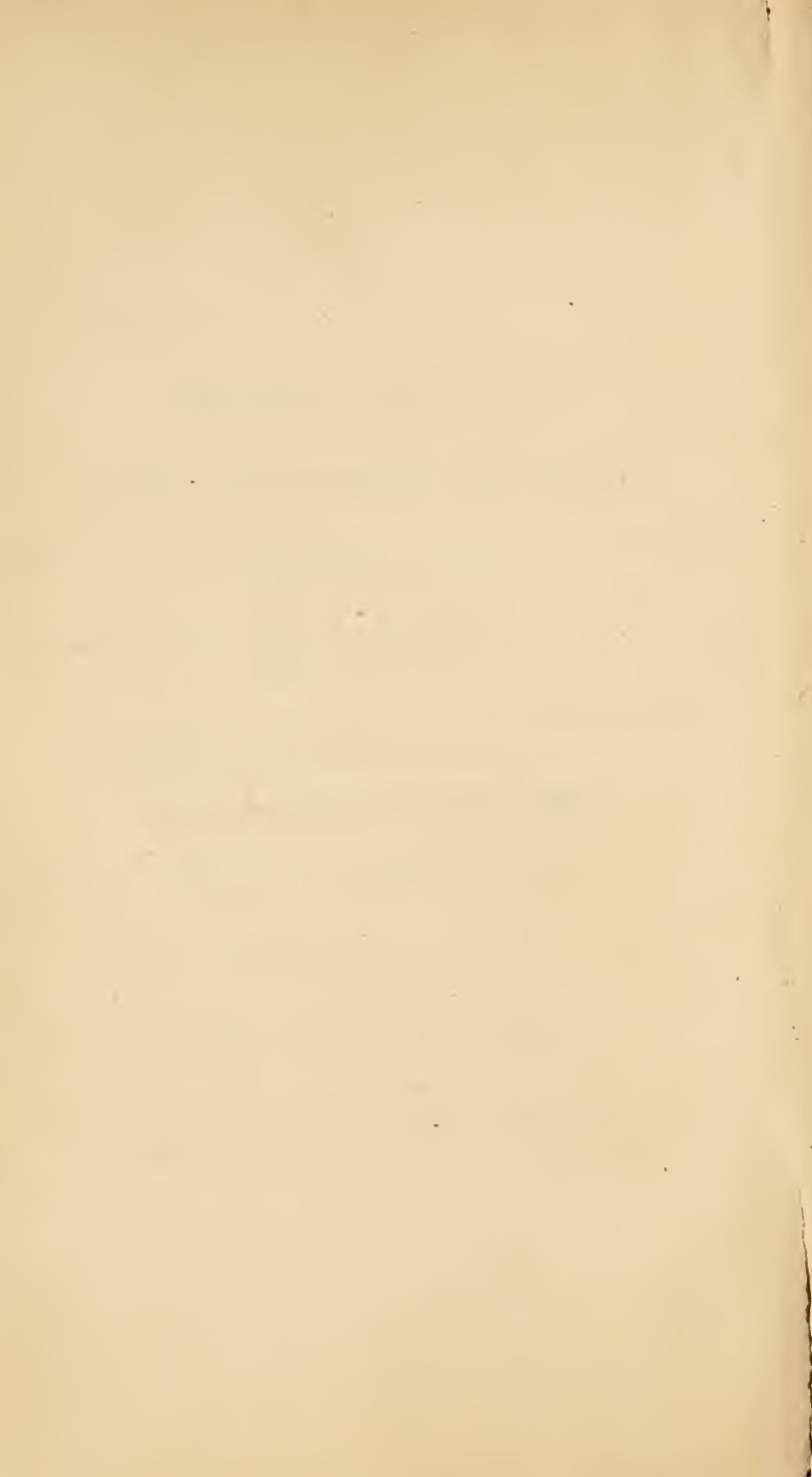
IN THE HOPE AND WITH THE SINCERE CONVICTION THAT IN NOVEMBER,
1888, ITS ILLUSTRIOUS STANDARD-BEARERS,

GROVER CLEVELAND

AND

ALLEN G. THURMAN

WILL BE ELECTED TO THE HIGHEST OFFICES IN THE GIFT OF THE
PEOPLE, THAT HONESTY AND INTEGRITY MAY NOT BE SUPPLANTED
BY THE PARTY OF CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES.



ONLY AUTHORIZED AND OFFICIAL EDITION.

AS A MAN, THE NOBLEST AND PUREST OF HIS TIMES.
AS A CITIZEN, THE GRANDEST OF HIS NATION.
AS A STATESMAN, THE IDOL OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE.

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
OUR GREAT REFORM PRESIDENT,
GROVER CLEVELAND

EMBRACING A FULL ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY LIFE; HIS STRUGGLES WITH
POVERTY AND EFFORTS TO OBTAIN AN EDUCATION; HIS AMBITION
AS A STUDENT; HIS EARLY POLITICAL CAREER AND RAPID
ADVANCEMENT; HIS ABLE AND PATRIOTIC RECORD AS
GOVERNOR OF THE EMPIRE STATE AND PRESIDENT OF
OUR GREAT REPUBLIC; HIS MANFUL BATTLES WITH
RINGS AND CORRUPTION IN HIGH PLACES.

BY COL. HERMAN DIECK,
THE WELL-KNOWN AUTHOR.

TO WHICH IS ADDED
THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF
ALLEN G. THURMAN

THE GRAND OLD DEMOCRATIC STATESMAN.

The work also contains an account of the election and administration of every President from Washington to the present time, and fine portraits of all of them, with a history of the National Democratic Conventions from 1832, and a large amount of valuable statistical matter, giving the returns of the votes cast at all our Presidential elections.

Embellished with a Fine Steel Portrait of Cleveland and
Numerous Illustrations on Wood.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.:
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PREFACE.

THE Democratic National Convention, to nominate candidates for the office of President and Vice-President of the United States, met at St. Louis on the 5th day of June, 1888. The party was represented by its ablest men, who either as delegates or as members of political clubs, or as advisers, participated in its deliberations. The Convention nominated for the high office of President of the United States,

HON. STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND,
who by his ability, integrity, courage and efficient administration at Washington has gained many encomiums from political friends as well as adversaries. No person can point to an act of his that can be construed as a bid for the nomination or as an effort to secure it. The Democratic party has great cause to be proud of the moral sense and political sagacity of its leaders, who, on account of President Cleveland's admirable record and character, have nominated him for the Presidency, the highest office in the gift of the people.

There was in the great Democratic Convention no real hostility to President Cleveland. The hearty satisfaction with which the nomination of Grover Cleveland has been received is a guarantee of his election in November. It arises from the general conviction that the chief issue of the election is honest and efficient administration, with sole regard to the public welfare. Indeed, he owes his nomination to his spotless character, his career as an

executive officer, and to the universal respect and confidence which his conduct has inspired. He was elected Mayor of Buffalo when the intelligent sentiment of the city demanded a reform policy, and a man able and courageous enough to enforce it. He was the candidate of citizens who were resolved that the city government should be conducted for the general welfare, and not for the benefit of rings and traders. He discharged his duties without regard to private interests or his own political or personal profit. He held his office as a public trust, baffling jobbery of all kinds, vetoing doubtful schemes or questionable laws upon clear constitutional and indisputable grounds, and by his direct, honorable and energetic course winning the cordial regard of his fellow-citizens. It was natural that in the decline of great party issues, and in the alarming and dangerous progress of corrupt political methods, the voters of New York, hearing of the administrator of the government of one of the chief cities of the State as a man possessing the very qualities which promised the overthrow of political corruption, should have willingly supported him for Governor of the State. His vast and unprecedented majority attested his popularity in his own State.

Frank and plain in manner, scorning political charlatany and the arts of a demagogue, his appointments to office, his thorough study of laws submitted to him, his vetoes based upon constitutional grounds and wholly unmindful of personal views and wishes, his hearty cooperation with every measure to promote reform in the civil service, and his wise and energetic part in the purification of the unclean and corrupt municipal government of the city of New York, naturally attracted the attention of the country to a public officer in a most dignified and responsible position, whose career showed the qualities which the political situation especially required.

It was but natural, therefore, that Mr. Cleveland should be chosen as the Democratic standard bearer in 1884. He was approved by the people on account of those qualities which are needed in the administration of public affairs. The endorsement of the people was a testimony to a clean record and a noble purpose.

With Grover Cleveland as its candidate the Democratic party appeals with unmistakable directness to the moral sense of the people of the United States. Shall the next President be a man who has weakly yielded to temptation, or a man who has unswervingly adhered to the right against great temptations to do wrong? A man who begs pecuniary rewards of those his official action has enriched, or one who defies corrupt dictation and seeks only by a just course to deserve the approval of all honorable and right-thinking men? The honest convictions and patriotism of ten millions of voters are appealed to, and they will settle this question conclusively and for the right.

It is not only in what he clearly represents, but in what he opposes, that Grover Cleveland is strong before the American people. His career has made him the exponent of clean and honest politics. He has been severely tried in the important and responsible position of Governor of the great Empire State and President of the United States. He has resisted the importunities of designing politicians, and defeated the plans of selfish schemers. All members of his own party who are not striving for private gains, which are in conflict with the public good, are outspoken in his praise; and he has won the good opinion of all men who are not so biased by partisanship as to have lost the power to commend upright conduct in a political adversary.

Could a candidate find stronger recommendation than this in the opinion of voters whose political actions are shaped solely by considerations of the public good? The official acts which have won for President Cleveland the

intense hostility of all jobbers and disreputable men, are the very acts which have most strongly commended him to the support of honest voters.

Mr. Cleveland's associate on the Democratic Presidential ticket is a man of great personal popularity. His good name has been honestly earned, and he will prove to be a strong candidate. He is genial, always true to his friends, and possesses those qualities which give men a strong hold on the people.

This ticket is one of the strongest ever presented by the Democratic party and will be elected by a large majority.

It is but natural that their countrymen should desire to know the means by which these great men have risen, by their own ability and integrity, to the proudest positions in the Republic, that of being the candidates of the grand old Democratic party for the office of President and Vice-President of the United States. To meet this demand the author has prepared this volume.

The records of Grover Cleveland and his associate on the ticket, nominated with great enthusiasm at St. Louis, are presented in this book clearly and without partiality, that all men may see that their claims to the love and confidence of the American people are justified by their meritorious and faithful service, their ability and integrity, and fearless performance of their arduous and trying duties in all positions to which they have been elected by the people.

THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
GROVER CLEVELAND,

NOMINATED BY THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION FOR THE
OFFICE OF PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

HIS BIRTH AND PARENTAGE—HIS FATHER A PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER—THE HOUSE WHERE HE WAS BORN—HIS RELATIVES—HE FINDS EMPLOYMENT IN A COUNTRY STORE—HIGHLY RECOMMENDED BY HIS EMPLOYER—HE ATTENDS THE ACADEMY AT CLINTON, ONEIDA COUNTY, N. Y.—TEACHES IN AN ASYLUM FOR THE BLIND—HE GOES TO BUFFALO, N. Y.—CLERK AND LAW STUDENT—A SELF-MADE MAN—ADMITTED TO THE BAR—ASSISTANT DISTRICT-ATTORNEY FOR ERIE COUNTY—NOMINATED FOR DISTRICT-ATTORNEY.

THE Hon. Grover Cleveland, presented to the voters of the different States of the Union by the National Democratic Convention, which met at St. Louis on the 5th day of June, 1888, as its candidate for the high office of President of the United States, was born at Caldwell, Essex County, New Jersey, now a town of 3,000 inhabitants, about nine miles from Newark, on the 18th day of March, 1837. He is a descendant of a New Eng-

land family, that traces its lineage through more than two hundred years in this country. His family has been noted for religious knowledge, having had several distinguished representatives in the clerical profession.

THE HOUSE WHERE GROVER CLEVELAND WAS BORN.

The first house that is seen in the little village of Caldwell approaching from Montclair is situated on the left-hand side of the road. For years the old-fashioned house, with its quaint gable-ends and ivy-covered porch, has only attracted the attention of the villagers as the parsonage of the First Presbyterian church, but lately it has become of more interest. It is the birthplace of the Democratic candidate for President, Stephen Grover Cleveland. The Rev. C. T. Berry, the pastor of the church, lives in the old parsonage, and thither the writer went for information. The house sets back from the road about a hundred feet, and two noble ash trees stand like sentinels before it. The grounds, which contain about two acres, are well kept, and the whole place has an air of neatness and respectability. The house itself is a two-story-and-a-half, with a front porch and low windows. The front door opens into a spacious hall and the rooms on each side of it are cosy and comfortable. The ceilings are low. The doors are very wide and the whole place savors of antiquity.

“I have had a great many interested callers,”

said Mr. Berry. "This is the house in which President Cleveland was born. It was first occupied by Stephen Grover, a former pastor of the church. In 1834 Mr. Grover resigned the pastorate, and Richard F. Cleveland was called on May 13th of the same year. Mr. Cleveland had many children, one of whom, William M., became a minister and went to Long Island. In the old church baptismal record we find the record of the birth and baptizing of the Democratic nominee;" and Mr. Berry pointed to an entry which reads as follows: "Stephen Grover Cleveland, baptized July 1, 1837; born March 18th, 1837."

"During his six years' pastorate," said Mr. Berry, "Mr. Cleveland's father had a child baptized every year. When Grover Cleveland was elected Governor of New York I wrote and told him that I had these interesting facts, and he sent me a very graceful reply. Here is the room in which Governor Cleveland was born," and Mr. Berry pushed open a door and led the reporter into a room now used as a library. The room was about fifteen feet square, with two windows and a low ceiling.

Marcus Harrison, an old resident of Caldwell, said that he remembered when Parson Cleveland lived down in the old parsonage. "It would be impossible," he added, "to keep account of his children. Young Grover, as we called him, was then just toddling around in frocks. He was named

after Stephen Grover, the predecessor of his father in the pastorate of the church."

As intimated by Dr. Berry's remarks, there is quite a rivalry between the residents of the two ends of the village over the birthplace of the President. An old house that stands on the other side of the town is pointed out by some of those residing near it as his birthplace, but there is no doubt that the parsonage the Rev. Mr. Berry occupies is entitled to the honor.

THE CLEVELAND HOMESTEAD.

At Holland Patent, N. Y.

On the first corner as one passes through the village of Holland Patent, on the road from Utica to Trenton Falls, stands an old brown house. The structure shows at a glance that it was built years ago, when carpenters put beams in wooden houses and when balloon frames were unknown. The upright part is two stories, and its proportions offer commodious accommodations for a large family. A generous wing affords a sitting-room and other apartments. It was to this house that, over thirty years ago, the Rev. R. F. Cleveland brought his family. He came to occupy the pulpit of the Presbyterian church at Holland Patent as the regular pastor. A man of more than ordinary ability, possessed of a fine voice, a bright mind, and a clear head, he found favor with his parishioners. He was a Presbyterian in all that the

term implies, and believed the teachings of that church. He was withal a man of broad and liberal culture and liberal in ideas as well. As he went in and out among his people they came to admire his personal and social qualities in a degree second only to their admiration for his talents as displayed in the desk. His home-life was a model of consistency and uprightness, and he brought up his children in the way they should go. Well educated himself, he secured for them the same advantages. By precept and example he sought to make of them such men and women as in after life would be a credit to the name he had given them. One has to talk but a moment to any of the older residents of Holland Patent to learn the esteem in which they hold the memory of the Rev. Mr. Cleveland. Unfortunately for the church which prospered under his guidance, and for the members who revered and loved him, in less than six months from the commencement of his labors in that village the pastor ended his work on earth, and a village of mourners followed his mortal remains to the cemetery and laid them to rest.

Mrs. Anna Cleveland was left with a family of nine children to watch over and prepare for the duties of active life. The children were of no ordinary cast. As a white-haired man who had lived a neighbor to them for thirty years said yesterday, "Such a woman could not have bad children." Mrs. Cleveland was in all respects a su-

perior woman. In appearance she was dignified and with a kindly face, and at any gathering she would be noticed. Her children loved and respected her, and to the day of her death bestowed upon her the tokens of their affection. Home to them was always the most attractive place on earth, a very haven of rest. And so she lived until April 19th, 1882, when, at the age of seventy-eight years, her life-work was ended, and she, too, was laid to rest in the village burial-plot.

The children of the family in the order of their ages are: Mrs. Hastings, who married a missionary to the Island of Ceylon. The Rev. William Cleveland, who is now preaching with great acceptance in the village of Forestport, in this county. The Hon. Grover Cleveland, who is for the second time a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Richard Cecil Cleveland, who was lost at the burning of the ship *Missouri*, off the Island of Abaco, Oct. 22d, 1872. Mrs. Hoyt, whose husband was formerly of Theresa, but is now a business man in Fayetteville. Mrs. Louisa Bacon, a most amiable and attractive lady, whose husband is an architect in Toledo, Ohio. Lewis Frederick Cleveland, who had marked ability as a business man. He was, moreover, a jovial and wonderfully agreeable gentleman, who made friends wherever he went. He leased a large boarding house at Nassau and made it very popular. Frederick was drowned with his brother at the burning of the

Missouri. Mrs. Susan Youmans lives at Walruth, Wayne county. Her husband has represented his district in the State Legislature. He is also a heavy owner in Holstein stock. Miss Elizabeth Cleveland is well known in Washington society, where her winning manners render her popular. Miss Cleveland is a talented lady and has great ability as a writer.

AT HIS OLD HOME.

Mr. Cleveland has not been much in Holland Patent, as from the time his parents moved there to the present he has been elsewhere occupied. But never did he allow a long time to elapse without paying a visit to his mother, for whom he had the tenderest affection. When home he was always doing something to render the house or grounds more attractive. He held it sufficient reward if the result of his efforts warranted and received his mother's commendation. At least twice each year he took the time to visit the old homestead. When in Holland Patent he often took his gun and with a neighbor, who is an expert with gun and rod, would pass a day in the forest and fields. A gentleman who often hunted with the President said recently: "He was a good shot, just as he was good at whatever he undertook." Another characteristic which is very noticeable is that Grover Cleveland is a very plain man, and not given to any false pride on account of his station.

As Mayor of Buffalo or Governor of the State he was the same among his friends at Holland Patent as, when a law student making his way in the world, he came here for a brief vacation. He is essentially a man of the people, and looks on all men as equal. The people of that village know him as a man and for him they all have a kindly word. The news of his nomination was joyfully received, and many an old-time Republican will vote for Grover Cleveland.

The graves of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland are side by side in a well-kept lot of the Holland Patent Cemetery. The children have erected a beautiful monument to mark the spot. The stone bears this inscription :

Rev. R. F. CLEVELAND.

Pastor at
Holland Patent,
Died Oct. 1, 1853,
Aged 49 years.

ANNA NEAL,
Wife of
R. F. Cleveland,
Died July 10, 1882,
Aged 78 years.
Her children rise up
And call her blessed.

The same stone also bears an inscription to the memory of the brothers, Richard C. and Lewis F., aged thirty-seven and thirty-one years respectively,

who were drowned at sea when the steamship Missouri was burned off the island of Abaco, Oct. 22d, 1872. Below are the words :

“Lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided.”

Said a man who knew both the brothers : “Their action at the burning of the ship was characteristic of the whole family. When the ship caught fire there was a panic among the passengers. The officers of the vessel were incompetent and as frightened as the rest. Amid the confusion Cecil found his brother Fred, and together they stood by when the boats were lowered and helped the terror-stricken passengers into them, doing the work the recreant Captain should have done. When the boats were filled there was no room for them, and together they went down.”

MR. CLEVELAND'S PARENTAGE.

Mr. Cleveland's great-grandfather, Aaron Cleveland, was a Congregational preacher of Norwich, Connecticut. He was a strong man, both mentally and physically, and a hundred years ago he was the author of many radical anti-slavery papers which attracted much attention. A great-uncle of the Governor, known as “Father Cleveland,” was for many years a city missionary in and about Boston. Grover Cleveland's grandfather, William Cleveland, was a merchant of his native town of Norwich, Conn., where he brought up a large

family, one of his children being Richard Cleveland, father of the present Democratic nominee for the Presidency. Richard was born at Norwich and was educated for the ministry, embracing the Presbyterian faith. Another of Aaron's sons, William, a silversmith, was deacon of the Congregational Church at Norwichtown for twenty-five years previous to his death in 1837. The youngest of Aaron Cleveland's thirteen children was the wife of Dr. Samuel H. Coxe, whose son, Arthur Cleveland Coxe, became Episcopal Bishop of Western New York. Grover Cleveland's father was Richard Falling Cleveland, the second son of Wm. Cleveland, the son of the silversmith. After graduating at Yale in 1824, the President's father taught school in Baltimore, studied theology at Princeton, and became a Presbyterian clergyman at Windham, near Norwich, in 1828. He married a daughter of Abner Neal, of Baltimore, in 1829, preached a short time in Portsmouth, Va., and then settled in Caldwell, Essex county, N. J., where Grover Cleveland was born in 1837. The baptismal name was Stephen Grover Cleveland, but at an early age the Stephen was dropped, and afterward the Governor has been known as Grover Cleveland.

The President's parents had nine children. Anna, the eldest, was the wife of Dr. Hastings, missionary to Ceylon; William N. is a Presbyterian minister at Forestport, N. Y.; Mary became Mrs. W. E. Hoyt; Cecil and Frederick were proprietors of a

popular winter resort at Nassau, and lost their lives at the burning of the steamship Missouri off the Bahamas in 1872; Margaret became Mrs. N. B. Bawn; Susan is the wife of L. Youmans, and another sister, Rose, is unmarried.

President Cleveland has only the most shadowy recollection of his native town, for, when he was but three years of age, his father with a large family and a small income moved by way of the Hudson River and Erie Canal to Fayetteville, Oneida county, N. Y. in search of an increased income and a more extended field of labor.

Fayetteville was then the most straggling of country villages—about five miles from Pompey Hill where Governor Seymour was born. Here the boy Grover Cleveland first went to school in the good old-fashioned way, and presumably distinguished himself after the manner of all village boys in doing all the things that he ought not to do.

At the age of fourteen, Grover, having gone through the course of study at the village school, was very anxious to secure the advantages of an academic training; but his father could not see things in the same light. He was hardly able to support his family, and wanted his boy to become self-supporting as soon as possible.

CLEVELAND GENEALOGY.

The nomination of Grover Cleveland as the Democratic candidate for President has led us to

make some investigation of his genealogy, with the following results :

Moses Cleveland came to this country an apprentice to a "joyner" in 1635, and established himself in Woburn in 1648. He married Ann, daughter of Edward Winn, Sept. 26, 1648.

He had a son Aaron (second generation), who was born Jan. 10, 1654-5. This son married Dorcas Wilson, Sept. 26, 1675. She died Nov. 29, 1714. He died Sept. 14, 1716.

He in turn had a son, Aaron (third generation), who was born July 9, 1680. He was a carpenter, and lived in Woburn, Cambridge, and Charlestown. In 1738 he removed to Haddam, Conn. He married Abigail —.

He had a son, the Rev. Aaron (fourth generation), who was born Oct. 29, 1715, graduated at Harvard 1735, settled at Haddam, Conn., in July, 1739, and married, Aug. 4, 1739, Susanna, daughter of the Rev. Aaron Porter, born March 1, 1716. He died Aug. 11, 1757. His widow died at Salem, 1788.

He had a son, the Rev. Aaron (fifth generation), who was born at Haddam, Conn., Feb. 3, 1744, and died at New Haven Sept. 21, 1815. He was married, April 12, 1768, to Abiah Hyde, only daughter of James and Sarah (Marshall) Hyde, of Norwich, Conn. His wife died Aug. 23, 1788.

He had a son, Charles (sixth generation), who was born at Norwich, June 11, 1772. He married, Dec. 17, 1797, Mehitable Treadwell, of Salem, a sister of the late Dr. John D. Treadwell. Charles was for several years a commission merchant in Salem, and afterward the well-known city mis-

sionary of Boston. He died June 5, 1872, within 16 days of 100 years of age.

His brother William (sixth generation) was born at Norwich, Dec. 20, 1770; married, Dec. 19, 1793, Margaret Falley. They lived at Worthington and Salem, Mass., and at Norwich, Conn. He died Aug. 18, 1837. She died Aug. 13, 1850.

His son, Richard Falley (seventh generation) was born June 19, 1805, at Norwich, Conn. He married Anne Neale, of Baltimore, Md. They removed to Holland Patent, N. Y., where he died Oct. 1, 1853.

His son Grover (the candidate) was born March 18, 1837.

This family of Clevelands spell the name without the *a* in the first syllable. The descendants of the Rev. John, of Essex, generally insert the *a* in the first syllable. He was a grandson of Samuel, of Chelmsford and Canterbury, Conn., who was the third son of Moses, the immigrant ancestor first above mentioned.

CLERK IN A COUNTRY STORE.

Grover accordingly entered a country store, where he faithfully discharged the various and arduous duties incident to his position to the satisfaction of his employer. Fifty dollars were to be paid to the boy the first year, and if he proved trustworthy, he was to receive one hundred dollars the second year.

Dr. D. P. Hutchins, an old resident of Fayetteville, who had an office in Deacon McVicar's store when Grover was a clerk there, when asked for

some reminiscences of the President's boyhood, said that "Grove," as they used to call him, was always considered a good boy, courteous and dignified in his manners and was exceedingly popular. He held his position in the store about one year. He made an efficient clerk and was highly recommended by Mr. McVicar when he left the latter's employ.

H. Howard Edwards, also a long resident and a playmate of the President, when questioned concerning his recollections of Cleveland's boyhood, said there was nothing during the time he lived here to indicate his future distinction. "Why," said Mr. Edwards, "we used to be together constantly, go a-fishing together, sleep together, play and eat together, and I cannot recall anything that impressed me with his future greatness. He was very slim when he was a boy, short and had small features. He was full of fun, and, I tell you, we had lots of fun together."

Captain H. S. Pratt, another old resident, was found in bed, but ready to talk about Grover Cleveland. "'Grove' was one of the finest boys I ever knew. Everybody respected him, even the 'old folks,' and you never heard of a practical joke on him. He was chuck-full of fun and I recollect he had a great weakness for ringing the school bell when he got a chance. He and his brother 'Will' used to have a long rope attached to the hammer of the bell, and the way they used to make that bell ring after dark was a caution."

There is a warm feeling towards the Cleveland family here on the part of all who remember them.

When Grover's father removed to a larger and more important charge at Clinton, Oneida county, the opportunity to attend an academy presented itself to Grover Cleveland. This was duly improved, and here the foundation of his future success was laid. He pursued his studies until the family moved up on the Black river to what was then known as the Holland Patent—a village of five or six hundred people—fifteen miles north of Utica. The elder Cleveland preached but three Sundays in this place, when he suddenly died. Grover first heard of his father's death while walking with his sister in the streets of Utica. This event produced the usual break-up of the family, and we next hear of Grover Cleveland setting out for New York city to accept at a small salary the position of underteacher in an asylum for the blind, where at the time the since well-known Gus. Schell was executive officer.

He continued in this work two years to the great satisfaction of his employers, several of whom are still alive and bear testimony to his zeal and the faithful and efficient performance of his duties.

But to teach he did not believe was his mission, and consequently at the expiration of two years he abandoned it and literally started out to seek his fortune—only reversing the usual order, and in-

stead of coming to the great city he left it. His first idea was to go to Cleveland. As he has since said, the name seemed a good omen. But his uncle, Lewis F. Allan, a noted stock-breeder, lived at Buffalo, and he went straight to him for advice and guidance.

The uncle did not speak enthusiastically. "What is it you want to do, my boy?" he asked

"Well, sir, I want to study law."

"Good gracious!" remarked the old gentleman. "Do you indeed? What ever put that into your head? How much money have you got?"

To tell the truth he hadn't any.

"See here," said the uncle, after a long consultation. "I want somebody to get up my herd-book this year. You come and stay with me and help me and I'll give you \$50 for the year's work and you can look round."

STUDYING LAW AND EDITING A STOCK-BOOK.

Here it is that we find the American boy now annotating short-horns out at Black Rock, quite two miles from Buffalo. But he kept his eye open for a chance to enter a law office while he was editing the stock-book, and one day he walked boldly into the rooms of Messrs. Rogers, Bowen & Rogers, and told them what he wanted. There were a number of young men in the place already. But young Cleveland's persistency won, and he was finally permitted to come as an office boy and have the

use of the law library. For this he received the nominal sum of \$3 or \$4 a week, out of which he had to pay his board and washing. The walk to and from his uncle's was a long and at that time a rugged one. The first winter was a memorably severe one, and his shoes were broken, and he had no overcoat. But he never intermitted a day. It began to be noticed that he was the most punctual and regular of the lads in the office. Often at night he was compelled to stand by the warm chimney in the loft where he slept and dry his feet after tramping the two miles through the snow. His senior employer had taken a copy of Blackstone on the first day of the boy's office experience, and, planting it before him with a bang that made the dust fly, said:—"That's where they all begin." There was a titter ran round the little circle of clerks, for it was a foreboding thing to begin with to the average lad. It appears, however, that he stuck to the Blackstone so well that he mastered it, and so absorbed was he in it one night that they locked him in and all went off. He spent that night with the book and never forgot it.

This uneventful period of Grover Cleveland's life, so devoid of adventure and barren of romance, was the period at which all the forces of his later life were gestating. The privations and miseries of a penniless novitiate gave way slowly before his determined assiduity and pluck. He tells in his own way with a beaming, reminiscent humor of the

first honor that came to him when his uncle, in getting out the second volume of his "Breed Book," announced to him that he intended to acknowledge in it his valuable assistance. But these privations and miseries, it may readily be seen by the temperament of the man, were only so many stimuli. His was not the hypersensitive nature that winced and wore under physical discomforts.

PAYING AN OLD DEBT.

It must have been about this time, or just as he was to set out from home on his journey West, that he borrowed from the Hon. Ingham Townsend, of Floyd, Oneida county, a certain sum of money, to which the following letter, written many years afterward (it was on Jan. 23, 1867), refers :

I am now in condition to pay my note, which you hold given for money borrowed some years ago. I suppose I might have paid it long before, but I have never thought you were in need of it and I had other purposes for my money. I have forgotten the date of the note. If you will send me it I will mail you the principal and interest. The loan you made me was my start in life, and I shall always preserve the note as an interesting reminder of your kindness. Let me hear from you soon. With many kind wishes to Mrs. Townsend and your family, I am yours, very respectfully,

GROVER CLEVELAND.

Mr. Townsend died in the town of Floyd in March, 1883, so that he had lived long enough to

see the recipient of his bounty elected Governor of the State of New York. His age was then 81, and he had in his time assisted many young men with money to make their first start in the world. When he gave the money to young Cleveland he told him he need never return it, but that, should he ever meet a young man in need as he himself had been, he might turn the money over to him should he have it to spare. Grover Cleveland had not been long in this law office at Buffalo when the firm engaged him at a fixed, liberal salary, and found that he was entirely capable of earning it.

"See here," said his uncle to him one bitter December night when the lad had walked out to Black Rock through the sleet and snow: "this is pretty cold weather for you to be travelling without an overcoat."

"Oh," says the young man, "I'm going to buy one when I earn the money."

"Why, look at your feet; they must be sopping, eh!"

"Oh, that's nothing. I'm getting some copying to do now and I'll have a pair of boots by-and-by."

In those days boys had to demonstrate what was in them before they received many favors.

"You just go right over there to the tailor's and get the stoutest overcoat he's got. D'ye hear."

Very likely Grover had begun to demonstrate what was in him, but whether to the mind of the

uncle it was a capacity for compiling herd books or the capacity to contain Blackstone cannot now be learned.

Four years in the office of Rogers, Bowen & Rogers as a student equipped him with sufficient elementary knowledge and experience to become managing clerk at the end of that time. And so four years more pass. It is interesting to know exactly what kind of character he had now made for himself and how he was regarded by his associates. It is not difficult to ascertain this with reasonable accuracy, seeing that most of those associates are alive and accessible and speak with noticeable candor and unanimity.

Said one of them to the writer: "Grover won our admiration by his three traits of indomitable industry, unpretentious courage and unswerving honesty. I never saw a more thorough man at anything he undertook. Whatever the subject was, he was reticent until he had mastered all its bearings and made up his own mind—and then nothing could swerve him from his conviction. It was this quality of intellectual integrity more than anything else perhaps that made him afterwards listened to and respected when more brilliant men who were opposed to him were applauded and forgotten."

It was about the year 1858 that the young student secured admission to the bar. He had been four years with the Rogers firm, and after his admission

he remained with them four years longer, thus securing a thorough training and equipment for his profession.

THE FIRST STEP INTO PUBLIC LIFE.

In 1863 the question of who should be appointed Assistant District-Attorney for the county of Erie was warmly discussed by the young lawyers in Messrs. Rogers & Bowen's offices. There were several that were both eligible and anxious, but it does not appear that young Cleveland advanced his own claims. Indeed, it is a fact that after the matter had been pretty well canvassed they all agreed that he was the person that ought to have it and they urged him to accept it. This simple incident speaks volumes for the already developed character of the young man. He was appointed and from that moment his public record began. During the three years that he was in the District Attorney's office the great bulk of its duties fell upon his shoulders, and then it was that his enormous vital strength and tireless industry made themselves felt. One may say now that it is well perhaps that the District-Attorney himself was rather disposed to let youth and vigor shoulder the great part of the responsibility. It was just the training that young Cleveland needed, and he went into it with his coat off.

There is nothing discreditable about Mr. Cleveland's war record. At the opening of the war it

was a question whether he should go to the army or not. He was entirely ready and willing to do so, but his father had died some time before and left a widowed mother, poor and with a large family, several of whom were daughters. Provision had to be made for their support, and yet the family felt obliged to contribute in some way to the cause of the Union. A sort of family council was held. Grover had just been admitted to the bar at Buffalo and was beginning to have some practice. Two younger brothers volunteered to go to the army and leave Grover at home to support their mother and sisters. This was agreed to all around, and the two brothers went to the front and served with honor till the war closed. When peace was declared they returned home, but were soon afterwards lost at sea. Grover Cleveland was the first man drafted in Buffalo. He promptly supplied a substitute, who made a faithful soldier. Mr. Cleveland has always been a friend of the soldiers, and was a war Democrat. While Mayor of Buffalo there was an attempt to make capital out of the fact that he had vetoed a bill appropriating public money for a soldiers' monument in the city. When the facts came out it proved to be true that he did veto such a bill, and that he did it on the ground that the City Council had no right to appropriate public funds for a purpose of that kind, but he suggested that the result might be reached by a public subscription. The hint was

adopted, a subscription paper was taken around and the first and largest subscriber was Mayor Cleveland. During his term as Governor of New York he approved a bill providing that the heads of the various State departments should, when making appointments, give preference to honorably discharged soldiers and sailors of the United States. Some irritation was created afterward because of his vetoing a bill in reference to Grand Army badges. In the bill was a provision making the wearing of such a badge by any person not entitled to do so by reason of membership of some post a crime, punishable by imprisonment. Mr. Cleveland thought the penalty unnecessarily severe. It was also logically observed that the child of a veteran might be imprisoned for wearing his father's badge.

So faithfully had he conducted the affairs of the county that at the end of three years he was nominated by the Democrats for the District-Attorneyship. Here, again, it is an indisputable fact that he did not solicit the nomination, hesitated to accept it, and did not turn his hand over to secure his election. It is said in Buffalo that on the day of election he was trying a case in court while his friends were electioneering for him on the street, and the Judge on the Bench, who was presumably an admirer of his, peremptorily adjourned the case and told Cleveland to go and attend to his interests.

In this, his first appearance as a candidate for

office, he was defeated, his opponent being the Hon. Lyman K. Bass, whose majority, however, was not large. The year following his defeat Mr. Cleveland formed a partnership in the law with the late Mayor I. V. Vanderpoel, but on the election of Mr. Vanderpoel as Police Justice soon afterward he became a member of the firm of Laning, Cleveland & Folsom, of which the head was the late Senator A. P. Laning.

CHAPTER II.

SHERIFF, MAYOR AND GOVERNOR.

ELECTED SHERIFF OF ERIE COUNTY—HOW HE CONDUCTED HIS OFFICE—HE RESUMES HIS PRACTICE OF THE LAW—ELECTED MAYOR OF REPUBLICAN BUFFALO BY 5,000 MAJORITY—HIS MODEL ADMINISTRATION—AN ENEMY OF ALL WASTEFUL AND CORRUPT MEASURES—HIS FEARLESS VETOES AND STRICT ATTENTION TO HIS DUTIES—HIS VIEWS ON CITIZENSHIP—ELECTED GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK BY THE UNPRECEDENTED MAJORITY OF 192,854 VOTES—HIS ADMINISTRATION—UNASSUMING, INDUSTRIOUS, CIVIL, JUST, CAREFUL, KIND, POLITE, ABOVE SUSPICION—THE ADMIRABLE CHARACTER OF HIS SELECTIONS FOR OFFICE.

THE fall of 1870 found Grover Cleveland again a candidate for a local office, that of High Sheriff of Erie County, New York State, and he was elected after a vigorous canvass; in which capacity he served faithfully for a term of three years, filling the office with conspicuous credit and dignity. When he was first nominated for the Presidency, a special correspondent of the *New York World* wrote as follows:

Just now, when everything hangs by a thread at Chicago, Buffalo is talking of many things which befell its model Mayor, the State's model Governor and whom many thousands of warm personal

friends here hope to vote for as the nation's reform President—Grover Cleveland. It was as Sheriff of Erie County that the Governor became known in a political or official way, and many interesting anecdotes are told by those who remember those days. During his term of office as Sheriff the Governor swung two men into eternity. The first one was the notorious Jack Gaffney, a reckless young fellow who kept a saloon at the corner of Washington and Carrol streets, almost opposite the *Courier* office. Gaffney was seated in a low dive on Canal street—"Ted" Sweeney's—playing cards with a kindred spirit named Fahey. The two quarrelled over the stakes and Gaffney shot and killed Fahey in cool blood. He was sentenced by the General Term in December to hang February 7, following. During these two months there was the greatest efforts made on the part of the reporters to find out how the condemned man spent his time, but the sheriff turned a deaf ear to them, and not a few times gave them to understand that they wanted to know too much. He kept them out of the jail entirely after a while and they were in sore straits. The interest in the case was intensified at the last from the fact that Gov. Hoffman respited the condemned for a week, and that the most strenuous efforts were made to get a commutation of sentence for the doomed man. Meanwhile the solid old sheriff was more rigid in his discipline than ever, and he even went so far as to

station a man outside with strict orders to keep reporters off the premises. This outside guard was used to relieve the guard inside Gaffney's cell, so that he was well posted on what was going on inside. One of the reporters, who now, by the way, is editor of the city papers, conceived the idea of "working" the grim sentinel outside. He did not try to do it all at once, but by a skilful working of his points he became acquainted with him as the young man who attended the spiritual adviser. By degrees he became aware that the grim sentinel had a weakness for beer. It was easy work after that, for he contrived to meet him every night after he was relieved, and together the two talked over the events of the day in the jail over their beverage. The guard was full of information in just the proportion that he was full of beer, and the facts that filled many a breezy column of his paper were costing the enterprising news-gatherer many glasses of beer. Sheriff Cleveland was wild. He questioned every one about the jail, but could get no satisfaction. At last his eye fell upon the sentinel and he was spotted. It was the night before the execution the two were seen together. That settled it, for in the morning the sentinel was gone and in his place was another. Gaffney swung on the morning of the 14th of February, 1872. Many citizens of the city remember the execution.

The second execution performed by Mr. Cleve-

land while Sheriff was five months later. The murderer named Morrissey was one of the most despicable wretches that ever deserved a shameful death. He lived with his poor old mother in the vicinity of the old "Packet" dock, in the rear of what was known as the Alhambra theatre. He was a thoroughly heartless man and was given to frequent and continued debauches, during which he submitted his dependent mother to the most shameful cruelty. While on one of these sprees he sought out his mother's hovel and demanded from her the few pence she had earned by her own exertions to buy bread. She refused him, when he struck her to the floor. At the time she was cutting a loaf of bread for his supper. As she struggled to her feet she said to him, "You had better kill your mother and be done with it." As she uttered the words he grasped the knife from her hands and with the words, "I will kill you then," buried it in her breast. The horror of the matricide made people of the city shudder, and the jury by which he was tried lost no time in bringing in a verdict of murder in the first degree. Morrissey was sentenced to hang on the 6th day of September. Prominent among the witnesses on that famous trial was Albert Haight, now a Supreme Court Judge. The execution took place on the day named in the warrant, and the present President was the executioner.

On retiring from the place he resumed his prac-

tice, forming a partnership with his old political adversary, Lyman K. Bass, the firm-name being Bass, Cleveland & Bissell. When some years later Mr. Bass removed to Colorado a new firm was of necessity formed, its name being Cleveland, Bissell & Sicard—a firm that soon acquired a place among the very first law-firms in Erie County.

It was while thus associated that Grover Cleveland achieved his distinction as a lawyer second to few in the western part of the State for legal acumen and intellectual honesty. His jury and bench trials were distinguished by clear views, direct, simple logic and a thorough mastery of all the intricacies of the cases, and his invariable avoidance of extrinsic issues and purely technical devices secured for him the respect of his own profession and the admiration of the public. These qualities, combined with the fidelity and independence of his official action while in office, brought him prominently before the public of Buffalo when that city, unable to extricate itself from a municipal octopus, was casting about for a staunch reform leader.

MAYOR OF BUFFALO.

It was the year 1881 that brought Mr. Cleveland into his first public prominence of special importance. Buffalo had been badly ruled by a ring of Republican politicians, and the conscience of the party had revolted against it, when the Democrats, conscious of the fine reputation Mr. Cleveland en-

joyed for uprightness of character, and seeing their opportunity, called him out from his retirement from politics to be their candidate for Mayor of the city. Buffalo is usually Republican by from 2,000 to 5,000 majority, and Mr. Cleveland's election on the Democratic ticket by a majority of 5,000 was simply a tribute to his personal popularity and personal integrity—above all to his personal integrity.

His administration was marked by rare ability and judgment, and his courage in dealing with reckless and corrupt measures won him the respect of all classes of citizens. Wasteful and corrupt measures were always vetoed and effectually killed. Not an enactment was passed over his veto. The veto of the notorious street cleaning award alone saved the city \$109,000.

He passed the first few weeks of his term of office in attentively studying the details of every department of the city administration. His previous experiences as Assistant District-Attorney and as Sheriff taught him what to look for and where to look for it. He found the ordinary municipal abuses, sanctioned by long habit and immunity, flourishing as usual. One morning he surprised the city by issuing an order that all the officials should keep strict business hours, like the employés of private firms. Before the office-holders had recovered from this shock he began a series of vetoes which equally astonished the Com-

mon Council. This Board had a Republican majority and attempted to override the vetoes, but Mayor Cleveland's terse, logical, business-like messages were published, and public opinion was too strong for the opposition Councilmen. They attempted to entrap him by passing a resolution apportioning for the celebration of Decoration Day a sum of money reserved by the charter for other purposes, believing that Mayor Cleveland would not dare to interfere with Decoration Day, or that he would become unpopular if he did. Down came the veto as promptly as ever, and in his message the Mayor so thoroughly exposed the trick that his popularity, instead of diminishing, rapidly increased.

His administration of the office fully justified the partiality of the friends who insisted upon nominating him, and vindicated the good judgment of the people who so powerfully insisted upon electing him. It is not too much to say that in the first half of the first year he almost revolutionized Buffalo's municipal government. With no more power than his predecessors had, he inaugurated reforms before only hoped for, and corrected abuses which had become almost venerable. Accounts against the city were thoroughly audited, since he pointed out what is required of an officer whose duty it is to audit. The wholesome rule of competition was adopted for important work that used to be given out in the form of political pat-

ronage. So far as one man can see, he saw to it that the city got the full value of its money. He knew his power and was not afraid to use it. He conquered the most corrupt combinations ever formed in the council and rebuked the conspirators in terms that brought the blush of shame to the most brazen of Aldermen. His veto messages have become municipal classics. Knowing his duty he faithfully performed it.

When Mr. Cleveland entered upon the office of Mayor the Common Council had determined to build an intercepting sewer and had advertised for proposals. The lowest bids for the work was \$1 568,000. Mr. Cleveland thought that the sewer could be built cheaper if a committee of citizens had charge of its construction. Through his efforts, though opposed in Council, a law was passed allowing a commission to be appointed. This commission, composed of representative citizens, conferred with the most eminent sewer engineers of the country, and on their advice have adopted a plan that will meet all requirements at an-estimated cost of \$764,370. The plan has been accepted by the Council and the sewer will be constructed accordingly. The saving to the city on this item alone is \$803,630. On June 19th the Council voted to award the street-cleaning contract, for five years, to George Talbot at his bid of \$422,500. There were several lower bids, by thoroughly responsible men. Mayor Cleveland vetoed the

award, severely condemning the attempted waste of the people's money. The contract was subsequently awarded to the lowest bidder—Capt. Thomas Maytham—at \$313,500. The saving to the city by this veto was \$109,000. The amount saved on these two items during the first six months of Mayor Cleveland's administration was nearly \$1,000,000.

MR. CLEVELAND'S EARLY LIFE.

A special correspondent gives the following sketch of the early life of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency :

“A little village twelve miles up the Black River Railroad from Utica bears the singular name of Holland Patent. Less than a thousand souls live in this quiet hamlet, which but for the accidents of politics would probably never have been heard of outside of the records of Oneida county. It was made famous in a day by the nomination of Governor Cleveland for the Presidency. True it is that neither the place nor its humble people ever knew much of him, either as boy or man, for his life there can be spanned by the circle of a few months. It has held the family hearthstone for many years and that now makes it a place of note. The father died here, when he had said his long prayers and given good old doctrinal sermons to his slender flock only three weeks. His mother made it her home until her death, soon after her son was elected Governor of New York. The only maiden sister he has still keeps up the humble cottage, which will now figure in song, story and picture as the early and only real home of the Democratic Presidential nominee.

“Over at Clinton, a secluded village some ten miles across the flat country from here, he went to school some time before his parents moved up to ‘the Patent.’ But he is remembered there only as the son of a poor Presbyterian preacher, who wore shabby clothes and was always ready to fight, not only for himself, but for his younger companions, when he or they were nagged by the older or more fortunate boys. There are not many reminiscences of his father to be had there or here. He is remembered as a rigid disciple of the Blue Stocking faith, one of these strong, severe characters, which ‘would have perished at the stake for tenets he would not forsake.’ The mother is also readily recalled as a positive force in this pious household. The blood of a good, Southern Maryland family runs in her veins, and it was a good strain with which to warm the frigid qualities of the cold New England stock which was top in the head of the household. Hence the ten strong children who were born of the union, offspring well equipped with the qualities of body and mind for stiff battle with the world. Not brilliant, but able, substantial people, all of them. Whether or not it was the Southern blood that changed the temper of the children I cannot say, but I believe that out of the five boys none of them turned to the ministry as their ancestors in the male line had done for generations before. One or two of the girls married preachers, but most of them chose to look for a better material chance in life than can be found in product of mite societies and of donation gatherings.

“The maiden sister has highly distinguished herself as an authoress and teacher, and is popular among her friends. All of the children were good in the

head and were educated in a very strict school. They were well grounded in a sense of right and justice, and the mother seems to have been as severe a disciplinarian as the father. She evidently seems never to have lost her oversight over them or to have withheld her good advice. After Grover was elected Mayor of Buffalo the mother wrote him rather disapproving his entering public life. After saying what her ambitions were for him and expressing a natural tinge of gratification at his election, she concluded her epistle by saying: 'But now that you have taken upon yourself the burthens of public office do right, act honestly, impartially and fearlessly.' The injunction was obeyed and his courage has won him a phenomenal success.

"It would appear from a close study of this man's conduct and general traits of character from boyhood up, right here, where his early days were spent, and in Buffalo, where his later life has been an open book to its people, that his hard struggle for a place in the world has ever given him supreme self-reliance. He was about seventeen when he left Holland Patent and went to New York to help teach the blind. He had that early established the reputation of being a nervy, manly sort of a young fellow, somewhat diffident, but not afraid to face any emergency which might confront him. He seems to have assumed more than any other member of the family the care of his mother and sisters. About the only estate, save the little house up at 'the Patent', that the father left his widow was the ten robust children.

TEACHER OF THE BLIND.

"Mr. Cleveland's experiences in teaching the

blind in New York were by no means pleasant, and he appears to have been engaged in this sort of work in that city about the same time and for the same length of time that Mr. Blaine occupied a precisely similar position in Philadelphia. After he left New York and journeyed to Buffalo he had a still harder life, if possible, than before his father died. His uncle, to whom he went for advice in that city, was a severe old Presbyterian; not exactly a miser, but a strict and unyielding business man, and believed that every boy should make his own place in life by his own energies and application. Without any compunctions of conscience he made the nephew work hard to keep himself in food and common raiment while he was studying his profession of the law. Thus it was all work and no play with him until after he had passed his majority. The very conditions of existence with him toughened his mental as well as his physical fibre, and grooved him into a plain, simple way of living that he has never forsaken. His bachelor quarters in the building where he has his offices are comfortable, but very unpretentious.

“The gossip in his home is that he has never had any other place of residence since he began to practice. He has not even kept up the style of club life, but took his meals at Mrs. Ganson’s boarding house, with the added luxury of a Sunday morning breakfast at the Terrapin Lunch, a plain restaurant, where a good meal can be got at modest figures.

“This style of living was not kept up after he became well-to-do to be saving, for he has the reputation of being a rather open-handed man and not given to hoarding money. It is apparent, from

the talk of all his friends, that he loves congenial companionship and is a most pleasant conversationalist, thoroughly capable of entertaining a company of any character. I found it current talk in Buffalo that he had always been much courted in society, but that he could rarely be induced to enter the charmed circle. There is a good deal of interesting chat about the plans that have been set to capture this bachelor and their universal failure. One story runs that only recently some friends had two charming ladies visiting them from the Eastern States, and that the lady of the house gave an evening party especially for the purpose of bringing the Governor within the influence of these attractive girls. He shunned the temptation, as he has done many of the kind, and did not attend. He said to a lady who chaffed him about his bachelor life, that if she could find a girl whom she would certify was just right he would enter into bonds to marry her if she would have him. This good-natured raillery has given rise to the rumor that he is thinking of making a change in his domestic relations.

“It is singular to find a man who has led a bachelor life so well thought of by all classes as Mr. Cleveland is in Buffalo. He has the confidence and respect of everybody except a few ward politicians whom he has disappointed. His political methods, as you find them developed at his home, are not calculated to commend him to the average politician. His self-reliance, candid faith in his own judgment and unflinching honesty have earned him the reputation among this class of being ungrateful to those who have helped to make him a power.

"After gathering the home impressions of the man and the features of his early life in this locality, I spent a half day at Albany with the man who has so recently filled the public eye plumb full. He is a good deal such a man as you would expect to find from his experiences, training, birth and general habits of life. He is a large and powerfully built, well-proportioned and rather good-looking man. He has a pleasant cast of countenance and is rather a winning talker. He has not the quality of magnetism about him, but impresses you with his candor and openness. He is an attractive man, without being too familiar, and is the most democratic official I ever saw.

"The humblest man or woman is admitted to his presence as readily as the highest. He impressed me as a person having the judicial quality of mind developed to a very high degree—one of those strong-headed men with a good opinion of his own understanding of anything he considered. There is not the least characteristic of a politician about him. This is of course the natural result of a life that has been busy and entirely devoted of late years to the enjoyment of the fruits of professional labor and to dealing with men upon the basis of perfect fairness. He is a singular man and has led a peculiar life. If the majority of his years have been tending up hill, his later days certainly have not, and he seems to be shaping himself to take solid comfort among the rewards of his toil."

MAYOR CLEVELAND ON CITIZENSHIP.

When it became known in this country that Mr. Lowell had abandoned the Americans imprisoned

in Ireland without formal accusation, trial, or conviction, the public indignation found expression in mass meetings to protest against his course, and about the time that the controversy culminated such a meeting was called in Buffalo. It was held April 9, 1882, in St. James' Hall, and Mr. Cleveland, who had been then three months Mayor of Buffalo, presided. On taking the chair he delivered the following address, which is certainly as frank and outspoken an utterance in regard to the duties of the American Government to its citizens abroad as any one need ask for :

“Fellow-citizens—This is the formal mode of address on occasions of this kind, but I think we seldom realize fully its meaning or how valuable a thing it is to be a citizen. From the earliest civilization to be a citizen has been to be a free man, endowed with certain privileges and advantages and entitled to the full protection of the State. The defense and protection of the personal rights of its citizens has always been the paramount and most important duty of a free, enlightened government. And perhaps no government has this sacred trust more in its keeping than this, the best and freest of them all—for here the people who are to be protected are the source of those powers which they delegate upon the express compact that the citizen shall be protected. For this purpose we choose those who for the time being shall manage the machinery which we have set up for our defense and safety.

“And this protection adheres to us in all lands

and places as an incident of citizenship. Let but the weight of a sacrilegious hand be put upon this sacred thing, and a great, strong government springs to its feet to avenge the wrong. Thus it is that the native-born American citizen enjoys his birth-rights. But when in the westward march of empire this nation was founded and took root, we beckoned to the Old World and invited hither its immigration, and provided a mode by which those who sought a home among us might become our fellow-citizens. They came by thousands and hundreds of thousands; they came and

‘Hewed the dark old woods away,
And gave the virgin fields to day;’

they came with strong sinews and brawny arms to aid in the growth and progress of a new country; they came, and upon our altars laid their fealty and submission; they came to our temples of justice, and under the solemnity of an oath renounced all allegiance to every other State, potentate and sovereignty, and surrendered to us all the duty pertaining to such allegiance. We have accepted their fealty and invited them to surrender the protection of their native land.

“And what should be given them in return? Manifestly good faith and every dictate of honor demands that we give them the same liberty and protection here and elsewhere which we vouchsafe to our native-born citizens. And that this has been accorded to them is the crowning glory of American institutions. It needed not the statute, which is now the law of the land, declaring that ‘all naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this Government

the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens,' to voice the policy of our nation.

"In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved the right of a person arrested to a speedy accusation and trial is, or ought to be, a fundamental law as it is a rule of civilization. At any rate we hold it to be so; and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the Czar of Russia or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England. We do not claim to make laws for other countries, but we do insist that whatsoever those laws may be, they shall, in the interests of human freedom and the rights of mankind so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say and do say that mere suspicion without examination on trial is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned, but ours will not.

"We have met here to-night to consider this subject, and inquire into the cause and the reasons and the justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law declares that the Government shall act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the government. The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion, imprisoned and persecuted, appealing centuries ago to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship, boldly demanded, 'Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and un-

condemned?" So, too, might we ask, appealing to the law of our land and the laws of civilization, 'Is it lawful that these, our fellows, be imprisoned, who are American citizens and uncondemned?' I deem it an honor to be called upon to preside at such a meeting, and I thank you for it."

A correspondent of the *New York World*, who visited Buffalo, to inquire among those who knew him best about the character and mode of life of Mr. Cleveland, writes as follows:

"While stopping in Buffalo for a few days, I had an opportunity to converse with several persons who had known their Mayor long and well. I found a sterling regard for the man everywhere, and it was a regard uninfluenced by political bias. Among those best able to form independent opinions, this regard was obviously founded on character. Among the people themselves there was a well-defined conviction that he was a man they could depend upon. As one rough fellow said to me in the hotel saloon: 'Well, I don't know about his learnin' or how he stands on a lot of questions that we don't understand, and don't want to, but he's a safe man, and he's pretty sure to understand them better than we do, and he'll do the right thing.'

"I suppose that this kind of faith in character is one of the most inestimable discoveries that a man can make, and I was interested to find that the element of popularity did not grow out of the subject good-fellowship, or mere manners. I failed to hear any one say that Grover Cleveland had any magnetism, or that he fascinated a crowd, or that

he drew people after him with a personal glamour. On the contrary I formed a very distinct notion that there was a class of men that he repelled, and that disliked him as easily, as naturally and as sincerely as a thief hates a magistrate or a smuggler hates a dead calm. Indeed it was impossible to discover either in the man's record or in the reputation that had grown up about him anything dramatic. The resultant heroism of his life is that common heroism of the 'common' work-a-day world which does its duty, not for effect but for a principle and a purpose, and which, if it does not so easily catch the eye and the ear, is after all the enduring force that the people come to look for and rely upon when there is great work to be done. I looked into his law offices on Main street—this later laboratory where were evolved the legal functions that came into the public service of his own community. They were curiously solid and unpretentious, and upstairs were the bachelor rooms where for years Grover Cleveland had slept and worked. I examined them minutely, for one often obtains a glimpse of character by such *entourage*. They were indicative of the simple tastes, methodical habits and studious life of the occupant. Two or three pictures, evidently selected not for decoration but because the owner prized the subject and admired the treatment, hung on the walls. But there was elsewhere not a superfluous article in the room. Elegance had been forgotten in the successful attempt to secure comfort and convenience."

GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Mayor Cleveland made such an exceptional re-

cord that the eyes of all the Democrats in the State were turned to him as the most available candidate for Governor, and the press of both political parties commended him as a fit executive of the State of New York.

He was elected to that office in November, 1882, by a majority of 192,854 over Charles J. Folger, the Republican nominee, and he took possession of the Executive Chamber on the 1st of January, 1883.

The earliest reports from the Democratic State Convention of 1882 spoke of the nomination of Mayor Cleveland for Governor of the State of New York as a surprise. It was no surprise to the men who proposed the nomination. He had been fighting the petty thieves of the Buffalo municipality for a year, and the people of that section wanted him to fight the big thieves of the State government. The tier of four counties, of which Erie is the chief, sent their delegates to the Convention pledged to vote for Grover Cleveland, and for nobody else. They knew their man, and soon taught the Convention to know him. On the morning after the nomination of Grover Cleveland the Buffalo *Express*, the leading Republican newspaper in the interior of the State, announced that it would support him instead of the Republican candidate. Within a week many other leading Republican organs and politicians took the same bold ground. Republicans—so divided upon almost every other

subject, as District Attorney Woodford and George William Curtis—agreed in repudiating the Folger and forgery ticket. Thousands of Republicans led by the Young Men's Club, of Brooklyn, voted for Grover Cleveland, and thousands more refrained from voting for any Governor. He swept the State like a tidal wave, and being elected by a majority over Folger of 192,854.

Mr. Cleveland went to Albany just before the beginning of 1883 to assume the office of Governor in the most quiet and unostentatious manner. On the day of his inauguration he walked to the capital and avoided all appearance of parade. His address evinced a deep sense of the responsibility which had come upon him, and an evident determination to do his best. He was obliged at once to address the Legislature and to face the requirements of its action. One of his first acts was to appoint the Railroad Commissioners provided for by the law passed the year before. The admirable character of his selections showed his judgment of men and of their fitness for special duties. The same characteristic was displayed as well as a conscientious disregard of mere partisan considerations in the important appointments which came later in the session. In naming Mr. Shanahan as Superintendent of Public Works, Mr. Perry as Commissioner of the new Capitol, and Mr. Andrews as Superintendent of the Capitol Buildings he looked to fitness alone.

He not only acted in conformity with these sentiments in making appointments but promptly approved the civil service reform bills which public sentiment and the persistency of an earnest minority compelled the Legislature to pass, following it at once with a most admirable appointment of Commissioners. He has aided and sustained the commission at all points in a most unreserved and hearty manner. In dealing with the acts of the Legislature generally Governor Cleveland early developed his peculiarity of studying carefully every measure laid before him, not only with a view to judging of its effect and bearing upon public interests, but to ascertain that it was consistent with existing laws and free in its form from such defects as would produce trouble in its operation. He adopted a practice quite unusual of sending back measures whose purpose he approved, but which were defective in form, to have them corrected. In his vetoes, which were quite numerous, he displayed the utmost candor and a complete disregard of the question whether certain persons or interests would not be aggrieved by the failure of measures which he believed were not demanded by the wider interests of the public.

CHAPTER III.

THE VETOES OF MR. CLEVELAND WHILE GOVERNOR.

SPECIAL LEGISLATION PROHIBITED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK—THE FIVE CENT FARE BILL—THE HONOR AND INTEGRITY OF THE STATE IN THE CUSTODY OF THE EXECUTIVE, AND HE HAS NO RIGHT TO SEE IT IMPAIRED—THE TENURE OF OFFICE BILL—THE BILL TO REGULATE THE HOURS OF LABOR OF CAR-DRIVERS AND CONDUCTORS—TAMMANY'S HOSTILITY—OTHER ENEMIES.

IN spite of the amendment to the State¹ Constitution forbidding special legislation, many bills of that sort have entered his chamber only to be killed. The same care and painstaking were observable when more general interests were at stake. He vetoed a general street railroad bill because the rights of the people were so loosely guarded. His veto of the Buffalo Fire Department bill was against the interests of certain party managers in his home city, but he vetoed the bill for that very reason and because it was not in the interest of the people at large. The same care of the public led him to veto a bill which removed many of the present restrictions and allowed the trustees of savings banks to invest in wild-cat securities. His veto of the Prison Commission bill was because he thought it ought to report sooner than next January. He has steadily put his foot on all measures to exempt from taxation. His disapproval of two or three of the New York reform bills was because they were so loosely drawn.

In his prompt approval of the bills for reforming and reorganizing the city service in New York he has shown his comprehension of the needs of municipal government and made himself effectively the leader of the movement. The moral effect his prompt action on the one bill taking from the despotic and trading Board of Aldermen the confirming power of throwing the responsibility entirely upon the Mayor enabled the reform element in the Legislature to continue their work with the assurance that every necessary and reasonable aid would be given them by the Executive. The news of the signing of the Roosevelt Mayoralty bill was received by the Democratic politicians, and the Tammany members especially, with deep disgust. He disapproved the Five-cent Fare bill for constitutional reasons. Referring to his message, the *Tribune* editorially said:—"The message containing his reasons for so doing is straightforward and forcible, and we believe will be pronounced sound by most of those who have been strenuous in their demands for a reduction of fares on the elevated roads. His objections to the measure are of a serious nature. He argues that to suffer it to become a law would mean the impairment of the obligation of a contract, involving a breach of faith and a betrayal of confidence by the State."

Chief among his acts which have been subjected to adverse criticism by the laboring classes of this city is his veto of Assembly bill No. 58 in March, 1883. The act is commonly known as the "Five-cent Fare bill," and forbade the collection or charge of more than five cents on any railroad in New York city for conveying a person any distance between the Battery and Harlem. At the

time of its presentation the Governor was so impressed with its importance and the public interest which it excited that he exercised the greatest care and most diligent inquiry into the measure before rendering his decision.

"I am convinced," he said, "that in all cases the share which falls upon the Executive regarding the legislation of the State should be in no manner evaded, but fairly met by the expression of his carefully guarded and unbiased judgment. In his conclusion he may err, but if he has fairly and honestly acted, he has performed his duty and given to the people of the State his best endeavor."

The Governor goes on to explain in justification of his veto that the Elevated Roads of this city are now under the sole operation of the Manhattan Elevated Railroad as lessee of the New York Elevated Railroad and the Metropolitan. He cites the provisions laid down in the act of April 20th, 1866, authorizing the construction of the West Side road, which specified that no more than five cents per mile might be charged for fare of one person. That road has since gone into the hands of the New York Elevated Railroad Company, and a law was passed on June 17th, 1875, transferring the rights of the road to the new company, and further providing that it be "hereby confirmed in the possession and enjoyments of said rights, powers, privileges and franchises as fully and at large as they were so granted in and by the acts to the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company. The Court of Appeals, referring to this law, said :

"The effect of this act was to secure to the elevated railroad company all the rights, privileges

and franchises of the West Side and Yonkers Patent Railway Company under the purchase by and transfer to it."

By another section of this act the New York Elevated Railroad was empowered to receive from each passenger a sum not exceeding ten cents a mile for five miles or less.

In 1875 another act was passed, commonly known as the Rapid Transit act, providing for the appointment of a Board of Commissioners, whose office embraced authority to fix and determine the time within which the new elevated roads should be completed, and to formulate a scale of maximum rates to be charged as fare on such roads, and regulate the hours during which special trains should be run at reduced rates of fare. In accordance with the act the Mayor of this city appointed a Board of Commissioners, who expended a great deal of time and labor in the consideration of the proposed roads. They even fixed and determined specifically the route of the new New York Elevated Railroad, and prescribed with the utmost particularity the manner and form of its construction and operation. A deliberate and specific agreement was made with the company that it should charge as fares upon its cars, at such hours as were not embraced within the time specified for the running of "communion" trains, at a rate "for all distances under five miles not to exceed ten cents, and not to exceed two cents for each mile or fraction of a mile over five miles, until the fare should amount to not exceeding fifteen cents for a through passenger from and between the Battery and intersection of Third avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-ninth street, and from and between the

Battery and High Bridge not to exceed seventeen cents for a through passenger, and that for the entire distance from and between the Battery and Fifty-ninth street the fare shall not exceed ten cents per passenger."

A further agreement was made that commission trains should be run during certain hours of the morning and evening, upon which—for the benefit of workingmen and the laboring classes—the fare should not exceed five cents for conveyance between the Battery and Fifty-ninth street, nor should exceed seven cents for a through passenger from the Battery to Harlem during those hours. The railroad company further agreed that when the net income of the proposed road, after all expenditures, taxes and charges are paid, should amount to a sum sufficient to pay exceeding ten per cent. per annum on the capital stock of the company, that in such case and within six months thereafter, and so long as said net earnings amount to a sum sufficient to pay more than ten per cent., the said company would run commission trains on its road at all hours during which it should be operated, at the rates of fare mentioned.

These agreements were at the time of their formulation highly satisfactory to the Commissioners, who accordingly transmitted them to the Mayor, accompanied by a highly congratulatory report, upon receipt of which the Mayor submitted the papers to the Board of Aldermen, who approved the act. This was in the fall of 1875. The New York Elevated Railroad Company thereupon constructed its road from the Battery to Harlem, a distance of ten miles.

The new bill, however, which was presented to

the Governor for signature last year, provided that, notwithstanding all the laws which had been passed and rigidly complied with on the part of the railroad company, a new scale of rates should be forced upon it, insisting that passengers should be carried the whole length of the road for five cents, a sum about half that which was specified in the agreement. In his consideration of the bill Gov. Cleveland was compelled, out of a single spirit of honesty, to say :

“ I am of the opinion that in the legislation and proceedings which I have detailed, and in the fact that pursuant thereto the road of the company was constructed and finished, there exists a contract in favor of this company which is protected by that clause of the Constitution of the United States which prohibits the passage of a law by any State impairing the obligation of contracts.”

He went on to say that section 33 of the General Railroads act provided that the Legislature may, when any railroad shall be opened for use, from time to time alter or reduce the rates of freight, fare or other profits upon said road, but the sum shall not without the consent of the company be so reduced as to bring down the profits on the invested capital to less than 10 per cent. per annum. In his communication to the Legislature vetoing the proposed bill modifying the rates of fare, the Governor said that even if the State had the power to reduce the rates of fare on the elevated roads, it promised in its agreement not to do so except under certain circumstances and after a certain specified examination.

“ I am not satisfied,” he said, “ that these circumstances exist. It is conceded that no such

examination has been made. The constitutional objections which I have suggested to the bill under consideration are not, I think, removed by the claim that the proposed legislation is in the nature of an alteration of the charters of these companies, and that this is permitted by the State Constitution and by the provisions of some of the laws to which I have referred. I suppose that while the charters of corporations may be altered or repealed, it must be done in subordination to the Constitution of the United States, the supreme law of the land. This leads to the conclusion that the alteration of a charter cannot be made the pretext for the passage of a law which impairs the obligation of a contract. If I am mistaken in supposing that there are legal objections to this bill, there is another consideration which furnishes to my mind a sufficient reason why I should not give it my approval.

“It seems to me that to arbitrarily reduce these fares at this time under existing circumstances involves a breach of faith on the part of the State and a betrayal of confidence which the State has invited. The fact was notorious that for many years rapid transit was the great need of the inhabitants of the city of New York, and was of direct importance to the citizens of the State. Projects which promised to answer the people’s wants in this direction failed and were abandoned. The Legislature, appreciating the situation, willingly passed statute after statute calculated to aid and encourage a solution of the problem. Capital was timid and hesitated to enter a new field full of risks and dangers. By the promise of liberal fares, as will be seen in all the acts passed on the subject, and through other concessions gladly made,

capitalists were induced to invest their money in the enterprise, and rapid transit but lately became an accomplished fact. But much of the risk, expense and burden attending the maintenance of these roads is yet unknown and threatening. In the mean time, the people of the city of New York are receiving the full benefit of their construction, a great enhancement of the value of the taxable property of the city has resulted, and in addition to taxes, more than \$120,000, being 5 per cent. in increase, pursuant to the law of 1868, has been paid by the companies into the city treasury, on the faith that the rate of fare agreed upon was secured to them. I am not aware that the corporations have, by any default, forfeited any of their rights; and if they have, the remedy is at hand under existing laws.

“It is manifestly important that invested capital should be protected, and that its necessity and usefulness in the development of enterprises valuable to the people should be recognized by conservative conduct on the part of the State government. We have especially in our keeping,” continued Mr. Cleveland, “the honor and good faith of a great State, and we should see to it that no suspicion attaches, through any act of ours, to the fair fame of the commonwealth.”

The opposition, such as it is, to Governor Cleveland on account of his veto of the Five-cent Fare bill can only be kept alive by the most reckless demagogism. His act was one which must in time secure for him the respect of the people, for, however desirable it may have been to have the Elevated Railroad fares reduced, and however politic as a measure of popularity it may have been to

sign that bill, his objections to it are unanswerable. He believed the bill was unconstitutional, and that his duty as the Executive was not to sign it. He therefore sacrificed whatever chance of popularity was offered, and held to the determination to do his duty and stand by his convictions. This is one of those acts which the clamor of partisanship may obscure or pervert, but which the abiding sense of the community sooner or later is sure to indorse.

The intelligent workingman knows, in spite of political rhetoric, that the best safeguard he can have in a public servant is integrity of purpose and the courage to withstand the pressure of vested interests on the one hand and the idle clamor of a class on the other.

This is amply shown in the veto of the Mechanics' Lien bill, which at the time was believed to be strongly in the interest of the workingmen, but which it is now known was wholly in the interest of lawyers and court employés, increasing as it did the fees and costs for enforcing liens and leaving out of sight entirely the security of workingmen's wages.

And yet the act of the Governor in vetoing this bill was made use of by demagogues at the time to incite the workingmen against him.

No act of Gov. Cleveland showed more clearly his independence of political considerations in his treatment of legislation than his refusal to approve what is known as "The Tenure of Office bill."

If this bill had become a law, two valuable offices—those of the Corporation Counsel and the Commissioner of Public Works—would have been left vacant for the next Mayor to fill of his own volition immediately after his election. These po-

sitions would have been just so much political capital to aid the regular Democracy, the earnest supporters of Mr. Cleveland, in the election of their Mayor. The bill, if approved, would have prevented the filling of the two vacancies by the acting Mayor with the confirmation of the Board of Aldermen.

The failure of the bill of course left the next Mayor at liberty to appoint and the acting Board of Aldermen to confirm a Corporation Counsel and a Commissioner of Public Works for four years before they went out of office.

Tammany Hall was unfriendly to the Governor, was friendly with Mayor Edson, and controlled the Board of Aldermen through the deal with the Republicans which made Alderman Kirk President.

Hubert O. Thompson, the Acting Commissioner of Public Works, was a warm supporter of the Governor and a bitter opponent of Tammany Hall. It was the earnest desire of Tammany to get Mr. Thompson out of the Public Works Department, and in this they were certain of the cooperation of Mayor Edson, whose nominee they could hold in the Board of Aldermen.

By his refusal to sign the Tenure of Office act, therefore, Gov. Cleveland gave Tammany, his political enemy, the power to control these two important offices and sacrificed Mr. Thompson, who was at war with Tammany. But the bill was loosely drawn, inoperative and capable of mischievous construction, and so Gov. Cleveland refused his signature to it, although by so doing he gave two valuable offices to Tammany and to the Board of Aldermen, which he had just made his enemy by

taking from them the confirming power after that year.

Gov. Cleveland also filed his reasons for withholding his signature from the bill purporting "To regulate the hours of labor of drivers and conductors of horse-cars in cities." They are as follows:

"I fail to see any good purpose to be gained by this bill. It is distinctly and palpably class legislation, in that it only applies to conductors and drivers on horse railroads. It does not prohibit the making of a contract for any number of hours' work, I think, and if it does, it is an interference with the employer's as well as employé's rights. If the car-drivers and conductors work fewer hours, they must receive less pay, and this bill does not prevent that. I cannot think this bill is in the interest of the workingman."

One of his vetoes, and one of much importance, was the Mechanics' Lien bill. On a careful examination of this measure it is clear to anybody that such a law would injure instead of benefit the workingman.

It was totally impracticable and loaded down with provisions which would defeat the very ends it sought to accomplish. It is charged that it was drawn mainly in the interests of a clique of lawyers who aimed at increasing bills of costs in certain cases. The Governor's memorandum, in which fatal objections are noticed, reads as follows:

"The bill repeals in distinct terms a number of mechanics' lien laws, including one specially applicable to the city of New York. I notice two features which I think objectionable enough to warrant me in declining to sign it. First, it gives all parties having claims four months after performance

of work or furnishing of material to file a lien; second, it allows on proceedings to enforce the lien the same costs as in foreclosure cases. This would be quite onerous, and, I think, should not be allowed."

The position of the Governor in striking out the item of appropriation for the West Chester Catholic Protectory has furnished some demagogues food for misrepresentation and calumny from a religious standpoint. Such attacks have been effectually disposed of by a despatch from Mr. Henry L. Hoquet, president of the protectory. This despatch reads:

"We never doubted the sincerity of the motive which induced Gov. Cleveland to withhold his signature to the appropriation to the protectory. We thought then and think now that he was not actuated by any feeling of bigotry or of hostility to Catholics or the Catholic institutions. On the contrary, Gov. Cleveland is liberal in the extreme, and we are of the firm belief that he was led to withholding his approval of the appropriation solely by a sense of public duty as he viewed it."

The pay of a driver on a Harlem Railroad line is, say, \$2.00 per day. The round trip from the bridge to the City Hall and back takes 3 hours and 20 minutes. Five round trips a day occupies 16 hours and 40 minutes or, say, 17 hours.

These five round trips average 40 cents per trip. If the Governor had signed that unsatisfactory and unjust bill—unjust to the employé and not to the employer—the company would have divided up the pay into trips, and have paid 40 cents per round trip. Three and a half round trips would consume the 12 hours to which a driver's work would

have been limited, and for this service he would have received only \$1.40.

To make his full \$2.00 he would have had to work over-hours and must still have made his five trips per day, occupying 16 hours and 40 minutes.

More than that. In the winter, during the delay consequent to a severe snow-storm, when the round trip instead of taking 3 hours and 20 minutes frequently occupies 5 hours, the drivers would have received no more than the 40 cents, and would have earned in 12 hours, for two and a half trips, only \$1.00. Or if in ordinary times, through a large fire or any other cause, a driver who worked the old 17 hours in order to get as much as he now gets should miss a trip, the amount for that trip would have been deducted from his pay.

The drivers and conductors ought to hold a mass-meeting to thank Gov. Cleveland for vetoing a bill so absurd and so adverse to their interests. Demagogues may bluster and promise, but no legislative enactment has ever yet been invented that will secure a man fifteen hours' pay for eight hours' labor.

At the close of the session he came for the first time in direct collision with the power of Tammany. He had made a number of appointments, chiefly affecting New York city, among them Commissioners of Emigration, Quarantine Commissioners, and Harbor Masters. These were not pleasing to Tammany, and were attacked especially by Senator Grady. The Governor sent a communication to the Senate urging the importance of disposing of these appointments before the session closed, and reflecting indirectly on the motives of the opposition. This drew from Grady a bitter tirade against the Governor, and the Legislature adjourned with-

out a confirmation of the appointments. As the political canvass a year later came on, Gov. Cleveland wrote a personal letter to John Kelly, conveying to the Tammany "boss" his wish that Grady should not be sent again to the Senate, recognizing the unquestionable fact that Kelly was the dispenser of nominations in Tammany Hall, and placing his objection not only on the ground of his own comfort but of the public interest. These incidents sufficiently indicate the occasion of Tammany's hostility to the Governor and of Grady's special hatred for him.

It is but natural that Governor Cleveland by his fearless antagonism to corruption, favoritism and jobbery should incur the hostility of those whose foremost aim is office and plunder. Tammany, a powerful organization of the city of New York, had lost a good part of its influence and its political prestige through the signing of different bills, which were passed by the New York Legislature to this very end, by Governor Cleveland.

Thomas F. Grady, Boss Kelly's Tammany lieutenant, whom Kelly put up to denounce Governor Cleveland in the Chicago Convention, was a State Senator at Albany in 1882 and 1883. In the autumn of 1883 he was seeking a re-election when Governor Cleveland wrote the following private, personal letter upon the subject to Kelly :

"Executive Chamber, Albany, Oct. 20th, 1883.—Hon. John Kelly—My Dear Sir:—It is not without hesitation that I write this. I have determined to do so, however, because I see no reason why I should not be entirely frank with you. I am anxious that Mr. Grady should not be returned to

the next Senate. I do not wish to conceal the fact that my personal comfort and satisfaction are involved in this matter. But I know that good legislation, based upon a pure desire to promote the interests of the people and the improvement of legislative methods, are also deeply involved. I forbear to write in detail of the other considerations having relation to the welfare of the party and the approval to be secured by a change for the better in the character of its representatives. These things will occur to you without suggestion from me. Yours very truly, GROVER CLEVELAND."

This letter Kelly caused to be published, together with a personal attack upon Governor Cleveland.

On the afternoon of November 23d a correspondent of the *Herald* held an interview with the Governor on the subject, which was reported as follows:

Governor Cleveland sat in his large revolving chair in the Executive Chamber this afternoon when the *Herald* correspondent called. The Governor was alone. He looks vigorous and buoyant. The Hancock standard of 250 pounds has evidently been long since reached.

"That letter of yours to Mr. Kelly," said the correspondent, "has caused a good deal of talk."

The heavy armchair was rolled a little nearer the interviewer and the Governor's lips were compressed.

"Indeed? Well, I suppose so," he answered.

"Why?"

"That is for you to say."

"I hold it was the proper thing, under the circumstances, to send that letter."

"You think Grady was not the proper representative to send back to the Senate?"

"I do, most assuredly. His action in the Senate has been against the interests of the people and of good government, and his ready tongue gave him power to be of great aid to bad men. I believe that the Democratic party could not afford to indorse such a course, and that his rejection would be a great benefit to the party and to the people. What's the use of striving for the Senate, country Democrats argued, and have Grady holding the balance of power to sell us out to the Republicans?"

"But about the letter, Governor?"

The big arm-chair rolled closer still. "I sat down without the knowledge of any person and wrote to Kelly—this man who had been assuring me of his anxiety to give me aid in my work. [The Governor here raised his hand and forcibly slapped the desk in front of him.] I suggested, not for my personal comfort, which I did not deny would be subserved, but for the good of the public service, that he who had the power to say 'Go' or 'Come' should not force the nomination of Grady upon the Democrats of the State. No man ever acted with a more positive desire to serve the State than I did when I wrote that letter to a man claiming to be my friend. I suggested that he who had the power (everybody knowing that the people of the district had nothing to do with the nomination, and that but for Kelly's orders Grady could not be nominated) should favor some better man for the Senate."

"Did Mr. Kelly ever answer your letter?"

"No. If he had been what I took him to be and he believed in Grady's nomination, he would

have so written frankly in reply. He put the letter in his pocket, and, I understand, called in his district leaders in Grady's district and stated his purpose to nominate him. The responses understood to be from these leaders were that Grady could not be elected in his home district, where Col. M. C. Murphy had been nominated in pursuance of an understanding between all the organizations in the district. In violation of this understanding he sought to renominate Grady there. Then and not till then did Mr. Grady announce his retirement—a retirement which was forced by the fact that he knew he could not be elected. All this time my letter had been in Kelly's pocket."

The strong arm here again fell on the executive desk. "What then?" continued the Governor. "Mr. Kelly (whom many who opposed him in politics believed to be a gentleman) takes this private, personal letter, written, as he knew, for his own eye only, to the *New York World* and requests its publication, together with a story that that letter prevented union nominations in New York and would make the Senate Republican. At the same time Mr. Kelly's newspaper was openly attacking and seeking the defeat of four Democratic Senators outside of New York—Henry C. Nelson, James Mackin, John C. Jacobs, and John J. Kiernan—and one or more Democratic Assemblymen."

"Then you strongly adhere to the conviction that this letter should have been written?"

Governor Cleveland reddened to the eyebrows with determined emphasis of tone and manner.

"Most undoubtedly. The letter was, as every reader of it will acknowledge, written in the interests of the people to better the representation in

the Senate of this State. Its reception proved to me that the man who had been assuring me of his friendship was my enemy and that of the cause which I had espoused. It gave an opportunity for this enemy to openly and coarsely insult me as Governor of this State. To say that this letter should not have been written from one gentleman to another—the one anxious to better the public service and the other having it in his power to do it—is nonsense. To say that a man should go three hundred miles to say what he should not put on paper is the rankest kind of hypocrisy. This criticism can only be based upon the assumption that a man might say in conversing with another what he might afterwards in policy find it convenient to deny when there was no positive corroborative evidence to be brought forward as to the facts. It is unfortunate for the Democratic party that this ‘boss’ system exists. While it does exist it became a necessity—a disagreeable necessity, I assure you—for me to recognize it, and consequently to address that letter to Kelly. However, the time is fast approaching when this odious system will be swept away, and the voice of the people alone recognized as potent in determining nominations to public office.”

“You have been attacked by several newspapers on the ground of grave inconsistency in writing this letter?”

The Governor laughed and the ponderous chair quivered.

“Yes; and it is almost amusing to note that some papers, in their efforts to convict me of ‘inconsistency’ as well as ‘interference,’ quote from my letter of acceptance condemning the interfer-

ence of the federal or State government with intent to thwart the will of the people. I stick to that sentiment yet. The trouble is (and here is the lamentable fact in the case) that it has an application to the state of affairs which the letter contemplates. The will of the people had, I suppose, nothing to do with the nomination of Mr. Grady. It began and ended with the will of Mr. Kelly, and his election after nomination depended upon the same power, bounded only by the trades and dickers that could be made with the so-called leaders and the freedom of the field from other candidates. This is not a condition consistent with true democracy, and it is not a condition most favorable to good government, but I had nothing to do with creating it. I merely conceded it as I found it and wrote to the man who had the whole matter in his keeping, suggesting that he, for the good of the people and in the interests of the party, should exercise his power for good. If this be treason I can't see how I can escape its consequences. I have supposed that Mr. Grady was put in his old field because Mr. Campbell insisted on running in opposition to him. Mr. Campbell's majority indicates that the people were quite willing to vote for somebody besides Grady."

The forcible, determined face relaxed as the Governor rolled his chair back in front of the desk.

"That is all I have to say or will say," he concluded, "to anybody on this topic. I have done with it."

Judge-Advocate H. C. King, of Brooklyn, said recently, among other things :

"The Tammany opposition to Governor Cleve-

land is personal in its character, as is that of all the prominent Democrats who are talking as loudly against him. Mr. Kelly was disappointed in some of the Governor's appointments, but neither he nor the men who opposed him have a word to say against the excellence of his appointments or the purity of his administration. Governor Cleveland aims to do right, and as there are not enough offices for every Democrat in the State, he naturally makes enemies."

"But what about the opposition of the labor organizations?"

"Well, that is greatly exaggerated. There is no combined opposition, and every attempt to get up one has been a failure. I was in Buffalo on Wednesday last. Great efforts had been made to get up a labor mass-meeting against him. There were less than 300 persons present, and no man of prominence could be induced to address the meeting. It was a melancholy fizzle. The Governor sprang from lowly condition, has been a workingman all his life, and is thoroughly in sympathy with the masses. I walked up Main street with him on Saturday, and he was continually stopped by people in all walks of life, and was greeted with a cordiality such as I have seldom witnessed."

"The story is told here that he has alienated the Catholics by some action of his."

"This is news to me. There is no truth in it. I have heard more falsehoods since I came here than could be answered in the columns of the *Herald*, some of them so vile in character that no one can be found to father them."

"How do you account for the opposition of the New York *Sun*?"

“That is easy to answer. I am the unfortunate originator of the somersault of the *Sun*. Mr. Dana was one of Governor Cleveland’s most cordial supporters before the election, but as soon as his staff appointments were announced he commenced to criticise and to deprecate. A Brooklyn paper intimated that Mr. Dana had been disappointed in something. Then in a fit of what struck newspaper men as little short of weakness Mr. Dana in an editorial stated that he requested the Governor to appoint Franklin Bartlett, a young lawyer, and son of Dana’s former associate, W. O. Bartlett, to the position he had given to me. Mr. Bartlett was a clever young man, but he had no experience in military matters or military law. As a matter of fact the Governor never made any promise to Mr. Dana, but the break was made nevertheless, and from that time until now he has endeavored to belittle him. It is the old story. The men who cannot use Governor Cleveland are the only ones who abuse him. Governor Cleveland has the confidence and support of all people, Democrats and Republicans alike, who are in favor of pure government. He is an ideal Democrat, and can carry New York by an overwhelming majority.”

CHAPTER IV.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND PRIVATE LIFE OF GOVERNOR GROVER CLEVELAND.

HIS MORAL COURAGE—HIS CLOSE ATTENTION TO DUTY—EARLY AND LATE HOURS—HIS VIEWS ON CIVIL SERVICE REFORM—GOVERNOR CLEVELAND AS A BARRISTER AND PUBLIC SPEAKER—HIS STRONG CONSERVATISM, AND HIS EXEMPLARY CHARACTER—HOW HE LOOKS—ANYBODY ADMITTED AT ONCE, WHO WISHES TO SEE HIM—HE IS NOT WEALTHY, AND A BACHELOR.

THE administration of Grover Cleveland as Governor has been highly satisfactory and fully in accordance with his views expressed in his letter accepting the nomination. All the appointments to office which he has made bear the stamp of that high, conscientious spirit which has always actuated him. His industry is beyond all question. Never has there been a man less approachable by politicians in quest of fat offices. His moral courage is great, as witness his veto of the Five-Cent Fare bill, which he treated regardless of the shower of abuse which he knew to be coming. Many of his other vetoes have been singularly objectionable to New York ward politicians. Many of the bills he has signed have had a like effect. For instance, those curtailing the emoluments of the county

clerk, of the register and of the sheriff. If he is re-elected President he may be expected to follow in the path of political rectitude which has always distinguished him, and he will be opposed by none but the schemers and tricksters of his party.

The same qualities and their practical illustration in the Buffalo Mayoralty led to Mr. Cleveland's nomination for Governor of the State without any seeking of his own, and the same popular confidence elicited by such qualities was displayed in the State canvass of 1882. In the office of Governor of the largest and richest State of the Union Mr. Cleveland has risen to the full measure of its requirements in administrative capacity, and has maintained—under the full pressure of partisan schemers and self-seekers—his exalted views of public duties, his integrity of action, and his unflinching independence and courage. This it is that attracted so many eyes to him at the juncture in 1884 as the fittest man for the Presidency, although he had never taken a conspicuous part in party councils, and had never been associated with official life at the capital of the Union.

Because Governor Cleveland took no active part in politics until recently, the conclusion must not be jumped at that he came into office a mere tyro. He was little accustomed to making speeches and writing letters on public questions, but when he began it was with some purpose. Appreciation of the business side of office and politics has been a

marked feature of his utterances. In his inaugural address as Mayor of Buffalo he said :

We hold the money of the people in our hands to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality, and it is quite apparent that when any part of the funds which the tax-payers have intrusted to us are diverted to other purposes, or when by design or neglect we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have, to that extent, violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or of many, and yet it sometimes appears as though the office-holder assumes that a different rule of fidelity prevails between him and the tax-payer than that which should regulate his conduct when, as an individual, he holds the money of his neighbors. It seems to me that a successful and faithful ministration of the government of our city may be accomplished by constantly bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust to be expended for their benefit, that we should at all times be prepared to render an honest account to them touching the manner of its expenditure, and that the affairs of the city should be conducted as far as possible upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns.

His views on civil service reform and on the dangers of bribery were thus elaborated in his letter accepting the nomination for Governor :

Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand here, as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold these public places would be much diminished and the cause of civil service reform materially aided.

The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls or to secure legislation is calculated to excite the gravest concern. When this pernicious agency is successfully employed, a representative form of government becomes a sham, and laws passed under its baleful influence cease to protect, but are made the means by which the rights of the people are sacrificed and the public treasury despoiled. It is useless and foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us, and the party which leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support. It is wilful blindness not to see that the people care but little for party obligations, when they are invoked to countenance and sustain fraudulent and corrupt practices. And it is well for our country and for the purification of politics that the people, at times fully roused to danger, remind their leaders that party methods should be some-

thing more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation.

Mr. Cleveland's rank at the bar is a high one. He is careful and methodical as a business man, which, united to his faculty of going to the bottom of all questions, gives him the principal elements essential to success in his profession. He presents his case well and closely, whether the argument is made before a court or a jury, but does not indulge in any exhibition of pyrotechnics. His vocabulary is ample but not overwhelming or exhaustive, as is so often the case with professional legal talkers. He is a hard worker, and a large, reliable and commanding practice is his reward.

Mr. Cleveland's strength as a candidate is due to his strong conservatism, his unsullied character, his sympathy with straightforward, business methods in politics, his exceptional standing with the independent, reform element the country over, and in his ability to inspire people with the belief that he may be trusted to do nothing for purely partisan purposes. Few men unite in themselves so many considerations of fitness and expediency. Invariably he may be trusted to expose jobs, turn out and keep out thieves, and give the country a manly, conservative administration of his own.

HOW HE LOOKS.

Governor Cleveland has a vigorous, robust constitution. He possesses a large frame and is in-

clined to corpulency. His face no less than his figure and action indicates strenuous vital force, and that admirable co-ordination of faculties which is best expressed in the phrase "a cool head." Those traits, which are in part the result of early and constant self-training, have given him the air of conscious and quiet power, which belongs only to the triumphant antagonist in the world's fight. His figure betokens herculean strength, massiveness, and there is in the smoothly shaven face the same token of solidity of character, with the suggestion of physical vigor in the soft brown moustache, that strongly contrasts with the scantiness of hair on his head. There is a slight tendency to corpulency, as is usually the case in vital temperaments, and a double chin is beginning to hang down over the simple white necktie. There is nothing phlegmatic in the man's manner. His face lights up with a sympathetic smile, and he is at once interesting, unaffected and intensely real. He is a man of the people.

A near and close friend of Governor Cleveland, on the second day succeeding the Convention, wrote from Buffalo as follows :

"The home-friends and neighbors of Grover Cleveland are to-night celebrating his nomination for the Presidency. They are making a great demonstration. The city is red with the glare and noise of fireworks. Great crowds are on the streets and an almost endless procession, with banners

and music, is parading all the principal thoroughfares. In an ordinary way the place is literally being painted red. Men of both parties are engaged in it, for here, where people know him best, I find that the Democratic Presidential nominee is held in high esteem by all classes. He seems to have led a plain, upright life, always marked with good judgment, kindness, great decision of character and sterling honesty.

“It is nearly always an easy matter to trace a man’s career where nearly every one you meet knows all about his incomings and outgoings. Here the policeman on the corner was appointed by him when Mayor. Further up the street the lawyers, doctors, preachers and tradesmen speak of him as ‘Cleve’ or ‘Grove.’ All say to his credit that his phenomenal advance in public favor has not changed him a whit; that he is still the same quiet, unassuming citizen now as when he was a lawyer seeking clients. The old uncle, L. F. Allen, who gave him good advice, but very little else, when he reached here some thirty years ago on his way to Cleveland, Ohio, still lives here and is now past fourscore years. He persuaded his nephew to stop at this point and helped him to get a chance to study law by working mightily hard for it. He is an eccentric man, of strict business habits, and doesn’t seem to take much interest in politics. He really knows less of the life of his relative than almost any man of repute you meet.

“Grover Cleveland came of a somewhat singular family. All his ancestors were men of ability, but they were always poor. The city is full of reminiscences of his life. Ever since his residence in Buffalo he has lived with his law books and in his profession. Although he is reputed to be a good, genial companion, fond of life and the world, he has shunned society and lived for his mother and sisters, who needed his help. Probably more preachers were reared out of his family than any other in the country. They all taught the doctrines of the Church for a small price and died poor. Mr. Cleveland’s father left some ten children, about his only available assets when he died. Hence it went out that Grover Cleveland was too poor to marry until so well grounded in his bachelor ways that he could not be tempted from them by the comeliest girl in the land. It is true that he was and still is poor. It was not until a few years ago that he felt able to pay back the money he borrowed to bring him West in 1855. He only got his legal education by a pretty tough fight with adversity and it took him four years of drudgery in the office of Rogers & Bowen before he was admitted to practice.

“I went into the spacious offices this morning, but not one of the old firm was there. Only one is alive and he is in Europe. Mr. Cleveland’s career as a lawyer is well defined in this region and his reputation well established. Mr. Mil-

burn, a bright young man, now a partner in the law-firm where the present Governor studied, said to me this morning :

“ ‘Governor Cleveland is the strongest character I ever knew. He is a fine lawyer. He is incapable of wilful wrong, and nothing on earth could swerve him from his conviction of duty. That he is thoroughly honest cannot be questioned, and he has always been regarded as an able and safe man in every relation of life.’

“ This terse summing up of the nominee’s position at home is simply duplicated by the judges and lawyers with whom he has mingled. Among the laymen he seems to stand equally high. Republicans and Democrats alike speak of him as a man of the strongest character and highest attainments. Mr. James N. Matthews, who edits the *Express*, the leading Republican paper of the city of Buffalo, speaks for this sentiment as follows :

“ ‘I know of no Democrat better equipped for the position for which he has been named than Grover Cleveland. He is an able, honest and incorruptible man. He is self-reliant and has excellent judgment. When people speak of him as an obscure man it is but fair to say that he has long stood in the front rank with the very leaders of thought and action in this part of New York.’

“ Grover Cleveland’s habits of life seem to have been as simple as the general conduct of the man has been unassuming. He dwelt in a quiet board-

ing-house, and when its mistress got a well-to-do son-in-law and quit business he used to take his Sunday morning breakfast at the Terrapin Lunch, a plain restaurant, where probably a terrapin was never seen. Old Major Randall, of the Lake Shore Railroad, was his companion. He died soon after Cleveland was made Governor. It was his oft-expressed ambition to live to see 'Grove,' as he called him, President. In 1863 he became Assistant District Attorney and carried the burden of the office for three years, to be beaten for District Attorney at the close of his term by Lyman K. Bass, his nearest friend. They afterward became law-partners. He was made Sheriff of this county by an accident. In fact, he never had an office that he was not forced into. In 1869 David Williams, superintendent of the Lake Shore Railroad, wanted to run for Congress. This district was close and he wouldn't make the effort with any of the aspirants for the Sherifalty. It was the most important office to be filled and there was a bitter contest for it. The leaders got together and decided that Cleveland must run to help Williams. There wasn't much chance of an election, but they insisted that he must make the sacrifice for the party. He was then regarded as a good lawyer, with a good practice. He became the candidate and not only helped Williams, but squeezed in by a few hundred votes. During his term as Sheriff the office was well administered, and when the term was finished Mr. Cleveland went back to his law business.

“The fees of the Sheriff’s office gave him his first financial start. He then made money at the law and saved something. His reputation is not that of a money-getter and money-saver. Had he been ambitious in this direction he could and would have been a rich man. In 1881 he was forced to be a candidate for Mayor. A popular revolt against the methods that were robbing the city swept him into this office. The Council was against him, but he vetoed every obnoxious measure it passed and his assaults upon the Aldermen were so vigorous that they did not dare to pass them over his objections.

“Here his veto of the street-cleaning job is regarded as the real beginning of his public career. Soon after he came into office the Council voted to award the street-cleaning contract for five years to George Talbot, a local politician of power at \$422,500 a year. There were several lower bids by thoroughly responsible men. Mayor Cleveland vetoed the award and severely condemned the attempted waste of the people’s money. The contract was subsequently awarded to the lowest bidder, at \$109,000. The amount saved on this and an item for a sewer during the first six months of his administration was nearly \$1,000,000. These acts brought him into prominence and started him towards his present place. It was on account of his fearless fight in spite of large odds against public plunderers that he was pushed and elected by these people Governor. It is because they know

him to be perfectly honest and incorruptible that to-night all men, regardless of differing political affiliations, are rejoicing over his successes. Though his law-office and his bachelor quarters over there are silent, both are saluted as the abode of a man who has done well on a small beginning. If the record of his life is soon told, his own people point to it with pride and go bond to the country that he will do even better in the future. This is the tenor of all the speeches and of the talk of the people."

A well-known author, who paid a visit to Albany, wrote about the executive mansion, the former home of Governor Cleveland, as follows: "Passing through Albany a few days ago I thought I would stop over and call on the Governor, if only to contrast the executive mansion with those bachelor quarters in Buffalo. It was one of those blistering hot days when Albany is indeed a city set upon a hill, and the new capitol looks from far up and down the river like the proverbial bushel that had been put over its light like an extinguisher.

"There are no coupés in Albany, and the current convenience of cabs is unknown. Public convenience is provided in the shape of open barouches, in which the modest author in search of information feels like a grand marshal on St. Patrick's Day and looks like an invited guest returning from a funeral. There was nothing to do in the dead heat of a sultry evening but to climb the hill or get into one of these chariots, and so I was

whisked up to the executive mansion in a vehicle that I felt was much too big for my mission. I say 'whisked,' because the drivers have acquired the habit of going to the Governor's house as if it were a matter of life and death. When you tell them to drive you to the executive mansion they take you summarily in from tile to toe-nails, and make up their minds with lightning speed whether it is a pardon or an appointment that you are after, neither of which will wait. Sweeping thus grandiosely into the Governor's grounds, up and around the house to the front entrance, I found the front doors swing open as I mounted the steps as if I were an aide-de-camp bringing the fate of a commonwealth in my despatches. A young man wearing a smile stood in the broad entrance. When I said I desired to see the Governor he invited me to walk 'right in,' and a moment after I traversed the broad, and, as we used to say, 'manorial hall,' with its flanking of old-fashioned saloon parlors, and sat down in a great airy, hushed, and shadowy reception-room. Nothing that I could see had changed since I was last in the place. There hung the great photograph of St. Peter's at Rome; there were the same bronzes and book-cases. The windows were open, and through them came the muffled stir of the city and the sharp twittering of the swallows in the trees outside. It was a drowsy, vacant place. I looked up and down the long rooms and passed out in the great hall. Not a

soul was visible. The warm summer draught swept across the great space. A beetle blundered in and struck the globe on the chandelier, and it gave out a sound like a far-away bell. I was suddenly convinced of the absurdity of dashing up to such a place in a flaming chariot. I wished I had come afoot and made my entrance softly and decorously. Presently a young man appeared at one of the open doors and said, 'Will you walk upstairs?' In the upper hallway, which, on account of its coolness, had been extemporized into an office, sat the Governor in a large arm-chair before a table which was covered with telegrams and letters. As I appeared at the entrance he said, in a hearty and inviting voice, 'Come right in.'

"Since Governor Cleveland came into office he has not been absent from his desk more than three weeks. His official life is monotonous. He reaches his office shortly after eight in the morning, opens his private letters, and at nine is ready to receive callers, many of whom are members of the Legislature, who come to explain the nature of their bills; therefore there is no lack of callers. In turn or in delegations he receives them, and this is kept up without interruption till one, when he goes to dinner. He takes an hour for dinner and to walk to and from his residence. By two he is surely in his office to see his callers. These he receives until long after six. Then he goes to tea, and at half-past seven is back in his office, when he locks

himself up to examine bills. After the Legislature adjourns he has more leisure. Men having business with him have learned his methods. They know he means what he says. Upon his words confidence and reliance can be placed, no matter how important or trivial the subject. Inquirers are pretty apt to quickly ascertain his views. He has that extremely rare faculty of reaching safe conclusions after a few moments' study. He is a man who seldom loses his temper unless persistently vexed by men who seek to argue him out of what he expresses and believes to be a safe and wise decision. He impresses men with his frankness and explicit manners, and visitors depart satisfied with the verdict. They quickly recognize the fact that his conclusions are reached from in-born conscientious motives. He is not swerved one jot or tittle by party or personal friendship to do what he thinks is not right. Hence his pardons and his vetoes show that they have been dictated by sound common sense."

Governor Cleveland has a vigorous, robust constitution. He possesses a large frame, is inclined to corpulency, has a nervous, sanguine temperament, light complexion, thin brown hair, with a tendency to baldness, and his general make-up is what ladies would properly decide to be good-looking.

All the traits of assiduous industry, unostentatious dignity, thoroughness and simplicity noted in

Grover Cleveland's early career are observable in his present every-day life. On the day before his inauguration as Governor he came down from Buffalo quietly with his law-partner, Mr. Bissell, went to the executive mansion, and spent the night. On the morrow the city was excited with the approaching ceremonies. The streets were crowded, but there was to be no military parade, no procession. The Governor-elect walked from the executive mansion in company with his friend to the capitol, joining the throngs that were going that way. He entered the building unrecognized, but quite at his ease, sauntered up to the executive chamber, and was there met by Governor Cornell. The moment the inaugural ceremony was over he passed into the spacious executive chamber which is set apart for his use, ordered that the doors should be opened to admit everybody having business with him, and went immediately to work. Never was any important public event so completely stripped of its fuss and feathers; never was a more radical change effected in the official routine of the executive department. Hitherto there were all sorts of delays and impediments in the path to the Governor. Cards had to be sent in, ushers conducted citizens into ante-rooms and left them waiting for hours to see the Governor; but the moment Grover Cleveland took possession he issued an order to admit anybody at once who wished to see him. Up to the present time he has been quite

able himself to prevent this return to Democratic simplicity from being abused.

While Governor, Mr. Cleveland shook hands with many people every day. Formerly the visitors to the great Capitol building asked to be shown the Senate Chamber, the Assembly Hall and the pictures: then they asked to see the big Governor. He treated them all alike. Shaking hands may make his hands sore, but it will never throw him off his guard. One would think a Presidential nomination would agitate a man somewhat, but the Governor simply said, "Go over and tell sister. She will be glad to hear it."

A correspondent thus writes: I should say he would have made a good surgeon, for he could cut a leg off and never flinch. He might sympathize very deeply with the unfortunate victim, for he has a warm heart, but if he thought his leg ought to be cut off it would have to come. What he thinks is right to be done he does with all the earnestness of a very strong nature. Of dissimulation he has none. I saw a workingman in his shirt-sleeves rush in to shake hands with him the other day, and a little later a United States Senator arrived to offer his congratulations, but I could not see that the Governor "shifted his position" in the least. He was the embodiment of simplicity towards both. He is a man you will find the same on Tuesday he was on Monday, and the same on Wednesday he was on Tuesday.

Easy enough to approach at any time when he has not something he thinks is more important to do than to talk to you, otherwise he shuts up very close. In some important methods of life he has not got very far away from the primary simplicity of childhood. And here comes in an anecdote I heard of him. The crier in one of the courts of Albany is a blind man, who lives in the same part of the city as the Governor. He is somewhat aged and has become so familiar with the road from his home over to the Court-House that he generally goes alone. But one morning, some months ago, he missed his way and the Governor coming along took him by the arm and brought him along with him as far as the Capitol building. As they were about to separate, the old gentleman asked the name of his considerate guide.

"My name is Cleveland," said the Governor.

"Are you in business in the city?"

"Yes. I have an office up here in the Capitol."

"Oh, you are not the Governor?"

"Yes. I am the Governor."

The poor old fellow was almost beside himself, and went on his way with a story to tell as long as he lived.

One morning after the Governor's nomination for President, as he was walking over from the Executive residence to the Capitol, he again found the old Court crier astray from his familiar path

and again took him by the arm and helped him along as far as they went the same way. As they walked the old gentleman proceeded to tell of another time when he had got lost and how a kind-hearted man helped him out of his difficulty and how that kind-hearted man turned out to be Governor Cleveland. "Well, you have encountered the Governor again," was the quiet response. And then the poor old crier was almost beside himself. He had been escorted by a good Samaritan who might be the President of the United States. At least two stories and a mansard roof had been added to the good story he already had to tell, and again he went on his way rejoicing.

The Governor is full of the milk of human kindness and his heart is big enough to take in all mankind. At once you see he has a most benignant face and can talk to you like a father. The pictures of him do not give his face as it is generally seen. He sometimes looks serious, but never cross or even austere. As soon as you see him you feel that you need not have any trepidation in speaking to him. Sometimes public men have a way of making everybody who attempt to come near them get down and crawl in the dust of humiliation, as if it was one of the gods of Bundelcund about to be approached, but not so with our big Governor of the big State of New York, and our big Presidential nominee of the big Democratic

party. If he ever gets to the White House all the sisters will feel like he is their brother, all the cousins will feel like he is their cousin, and all the aunts will feel like he is their nephew. When he sits down there is not much room left between the arms of a pretty wide chair and he looks wonderfully comfortable and homelike. The other day when there were three or four gentlemen callers sitting or walking about in the Executive office, a bunch of countrywomen dropped in on their sight-seeing tour. After gazing about in some perplexity, as if they were looking for something they could not find to their entire satisfaction, the eldest and the supposable head of the party, ventured up to the Governor as the most approachable man she saw, and ventured to ask, "Which might be the Governor?" "Right here," said he, as he thumped himself on the bosom and went on with the business in hand. "Oh!" the lady ejaculated, and retired amid her blushes to the expectant group in the corner and then they all looked over and said, "oh!" in chorus.

When the Governor gets well settled in his chair, takes a good long breath and adjusts his glasses on the lower part of his nose, he looks as wise, as mellow and as sunshiny as Benjamin Franklin. He looks as though it would take a very considerable shock to knock him off his balance. I asked him the other day if he read the papers that abused him.

"Sometimes," said he, with a smile that broke out all over his face.

"Do you ever get disturbed over anything they say?"

"Not much. Every man has a right to enjoy his own mind. I remember an old fellow who was a neighbor of my father and we would sometimes try to get him to come over to our church. He was a strong Baptist, and he would always say: 'No, you folks are Presbyterians, and if I go over to your church I couldn't enjoy my mind.' Of course, that was the end of the argument."

"What is the most annoying slander they have ever published about you, Governor?"

"Well, I have been more surprised (and then he did twist just a little in his chair) at the way I have been misrepresented as to the laboring men than anything else. I don't see how the idea ever got out in the first place that I have been opposed to the interests of laboring men. I cannot remember one single act in my life that could be reasonably construed into anything that was against their best interests. It has been just the other way with me. I have always taken particular pains, whenever it was in my power, to see their interests well guarded. I have observed that laboring men have minds of their own as well as political principles, and when there has been a full investigation of my official life the facts will be made known, and I am not uneasy as to the result. They

talk about the workingmen, said Governor Cleveland, as if they were a lot of sheep to be corralled or scattered by this man or that. Most workingmen are naturally Democrats. Democracy means the rule of the people, and the Democratic party has always been the natural friend of the workingmen. I do not think any great number of those who are in my party will fail to vote for me, first, because they are naturally disposed to go with their party, and second, because they will learn long before election day that my attitude towards them has been misrepresented."

The Governor had grown serious enough to lay his glasses on the desk and wipe his face with an immense white handkerchief.

Last winter Governor Cleveland, having reason to believe that public money had been wasted or misappropriated in the repair of the arsenals and armories of this State, had an examination made, which confirmed his suspicions. At his request the Assembly appointed a special committee to investigate the matter. This committee filed its report at Albany yesterday. It finds that a systematic course of swindling has been going on for a number of years in the making of these repairs. The work was done, and in many cases very badly done, by favored contractors, to whom most extravagant prices were paid.

Among other gentlemen, Daniel Dougherty, the silvery tongued orator of Philadelphia, who nomi-

nated General Hancock for the Presidency at Cincinnati in 1880, shortly after the last Convention paid a visit to Governor Cleveland which he described to a reporter as follows :

“I saw the Governor,” said Mr. Dougherty, “for the first time in my life, and I was perfectly charmed by his frank manner and dignified bearing. At Chicago I was not at the outset one of his adherents. But my meeting with the Governor and the conversation I had with him have convinced me that his is the best nomination we could have made. He is a man of comprehensive mind, of broad statesmanship, of free and independent views—a man who, while conserving all the interests of the Democratic party to which he will owe his election, will nevertheless be President of the whole country. All his official acts will be for the benefit of the whole people. That is the sort of President we want.”

“What was the nature of your conversation with Governor Cleveland?”

“Oh, it was purely informal. He spoke about general political questions without any personal reference to himself. The rights and obligations of corporations and the toleration due to all forms of religious beliefs were freely discussed. From the tone of the conversation I am positive that while Governor Cleveland as President will adhere most rigidly to the vested rights of corporations he will never be their servant or their slave. His

very veto of the Five-cent Elevated Railroad Fare bill, above all things, proves to me his fitness for the office for which he has been nominated. Were he a vile demagogue he could have bought cheap renown by signing that bill. But he was influenced by what he considered to be strong constitutional objections of the bill, and he showed that he had the courage of his convictions. The same is true of his veto of the bill which seems to have aroused some opposition to him on the part of the Catholics. I have the personal assurance of such eminent men of that faith as Henry L. Hoguet, the President of the Immigrant Industrial Savings Bank, and ex-Senator Francis Kernan, that Governor Cleveland is free from all prejudice against the Catholics. We Catholics do not expect a President to violate any constitutional claims to oblige us, and we would be unworthy of our faith if we asked for any favors not consistent with constitutional obligations."

"Did Governor Cleveland express himself as regards the laboring classes?"

"There was no direct allusion to that effect in my conversation with him, but the laboring element can rely with greater security on the advocacy of their rights by a man like Cleveland and a great organization like the Democratic party than on the sudden devotion to their interests of any demagogue aspiring to national place. The coming campaign may be likened to the one when Abraham

Lincoln was first nominated. Mr. Lincoln was then not so well known as Mr. Cleveland is, and I think that Cleveland will be a Godsend to reform in the Republic as Lincoln was in crushing rebellion."

"Is Mr. Hendricks' nomination equally acceptable to you?"

"Equally so. The scene in the Convention when his name was mentioned is incomparable. There was nothing in the world like it. If it had been the result of a speech, it would have been the grandest triumph to oratory. It was started by the announcement of a single vote for Hendricks. During the half hour that the cyclone of enthusiasm raged it must have produced the most exquisite sensations to Mr. Hendricks, who was present. It seemed to me to be the climax of the argument against the fraud of 1876. If Tilden was out of the way here was the man to vindicate the wrong. I thought Cleveland's forces would be scattered by the tremendous demonstration and Hendricks sure of the nomination, but there never was a body of delegates more splendidly disciplined than the friends of Cleveland. Undismayed by the cyclone, they nominated Cleveland, and with a master stroke of policy made the ticket Cleveland and Hendricks. This ticket will undoubtedly sweep the country."

William A. Simmons, ex-collector of the Port of Boston, who was intimate with Butler, and was at

one time his campaign manager, asserted publicly that the Massachusetts ex-Governor would most probably support Cleveland. If the support was hearty Massachusetts might be counted as a doubtful or a Democratic State. Indiana was certain for Cleveland. Nine-tenths of the Irish voters, he declared, would vote the straight Democratic ticket and Tammany Hall would help to swell Cleveland's majority. The questions of tariff and reform were the issues of the campaign. Mr. Simmons himself left the Republican ranks highly indignant because of the corruption inside the party.

An examination of Governor Cleveland's record showed the shallowness of the demagogic campaign lie started by the Blaine organs that the Democratic candidate for the Presidency was not friendly to workingmen. It showed, furthermore, that in his public utterances and his executive acts Mr. Cleveland had always had a genuine sympathy with the laboring classes and has ever been mindful of their best interests.

The first expression of his views on this subject after his name became familiar throughout the State was made in his letter accepting the nomination for Governor. In this letter, dated October 7, 1882, he said :

“The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes

on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman."

There is no uncertain tone here, no lack of sympathy with the cause of honest labor. Mr. Cleveland's record as Governor is entirely in keeping with these views. He has loyally adhered to them in the two messages which he has submitted to the Legislature, and with respect to every bill, whether signed or vetoed, on which he has been called to act.

Of the proposition to abolish contract labor in the State prisons Governor Cleveland said in his message January, 1884: "The subject should be approached with the utmost care and deliberation. *The wages of the workingman should not be injuriously affected by the labor of convicts in the prisons.*" In the same document he renewed the earnest recommendation which he had made in his first message that more stringent laws be passed for the protection of depositors in savings banks. This recommendation was advanced in behalf of the poorer classes and working people.

The bill for the establishment of a Bureau of Labor Statistics was brought forward in the interest of the laboring classes. It received the cordial approval of Governor Cleveland and by his signature became a law. The bill providing that whenever any employer makes an assignment the wages

of the employés shall be paid before any other claims was designed to secure simple justice and substantial benefits to the laboring class. It was promptly signed by Governor Cleveland. The passage of the Tenement House Cigar act was asked for by thousands of workingmen. It became a law by the approval of Governor Cleveland.

Three vetoes have been cited by Governor Cleveland's enemies in their attempt to prejudice the laboring classes against him. Not one of these vetoes nor all of them together show the least lack of cordial sympathy on his part with the cause and interests of workingmen. The Five-Cent Fare bill, which he vetoed on constitutional grounds, was not intended to secure cheap fares for laboring men, nor would it have had that effect for the obvious reason that the fare was already five cents during the hours when ninety-five per cent. of the working people have to ride on the elevated roads. The foolish, demagogic bill to reduce the hours of drivers and conductors on horse cars was, as Governor Cleveland rightly said, "not in the interest of the workman." On the contrary, it would have operated against the welfare of the very men for whose benefit it was, with amazing shortsightedness, pretended to have been brought forward. A reduction of hours would inevitably have been attended with a corresponding reduction of the already scanty wages. The Mechanics' Lien Bill was vetoed for very good reasons, which had no bearing on the rights or in-

terests of laborers, and laborers are as well off now as they would have been had the bill become a law.

His course shows that he has been a staunch and consistent friend of the workingman and completely disposes of the malicious assertions to the contrary made by his political opponents to influence unthinking voters.

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND AFTER THE CHICAGO CONVENTION—HOW HE RECEIVED THE NEWS OF HIS NOMINATION—CONGRATULATORY TELEGRAMS FROM ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY—HIS FIRST SPEECH AFTER THE NOMINATION—GENERAL ENTHUSIASM—HE DISCHARGES THE BUSINESS OF HIS OFFICE WITH THE USUAL METHOD AND CARE.

THE first intimation Governor Cleveland received was when, sitting in his private room in the Executive Chamber of the capitol at Albany at work on routine business, he heard the boom of a cannon.

Adj.-Gen. Farnsworth was with him, and they were considering some matters concerning the State camp. Every other minute a blue-coated messenger interrupted the discussion with a bulletin of the voting at Chicago received from the Assembly telegraph office. When the announcement of Pennsylvania's change was read a few friends of the Governor, who had by this time dropped into the office, applauded vigorously. Still the Adjutant-General continued calling off the figures from the proof in his hand without watching to see if the Governor made corrections. At about a quarter to 2 o'clock Gen. Farnsworth first heard the cannon shot. He put up his hand and said, "Listen!" They listened. Then came another roar from the brass gun that

the Young Men's Democratic Club had stationed at the foot of State street. Gen. Farnsworth jumped to his feet and said :

"They are firing a salute, Governor, over your nomination."

"That's what it is," said Col. Lamont.

"Do you think so?" said the Governor. "Well, anyhow, we'll finish up this work," and at it they went again.

If any doubt remained as to what the booming of the cannon meant, it was soon dispelled by a telephone call which said :

"Tell the Governor he was nominated on the second ballot."

Col. Lamont, the private secretary of the Governor, conveyed the news. The Governor smiled. He did not seem to be at all nervous or excited. Hand-shakings occurred, and the Governor said suddenly :

"Lamont, I wish you would telephone that to the mansion. Sister will want to hear it."

The Governor, the Adjutant-General, and the private secretary retired to the chamber, the doors of which were thrown wide open. The Governor stood up and received the congratulations of the fifteen or twenty persons present. Then a stream of visitors came pouring in. Crowds were seen converging toward the Capitol. Many were ladies. It was a cosmopolitan crowd. The stream of visitors continued for nearly two hours. The Gover-

nor had nothing to say beyond expressing his thanks to those who offered congratulations.

Meanwhile congratulatory despatches began to arrive, and poured in until a bushel basket would not hold them. The first was from the Syracuse Democratic escort, received ten minutes after the news of the nomination. Among the telegrams received were the following :

Columbus.

I congratulate you and our country. We are now firing one hundred guns. Ohio leads the column for your victory.

GEO. HOADLY.

Chicago.

My choice from the beginning for the Presidency. I congratulate you upon your unanimous nomination to that great office. Texas will give you over 100,000 majority.

RICHARD B. HUBBARD.

Jersey City.

Accept congratulations. The Convention did the very best thing in your nomination. I am greatly pleased.

J. D. BEDLE.

Orange, N. J.

I heartily congratulate you upon your nomination.

GEO. B. MCCLELLAN.

West Dublin, Pa.

I send you my heartiest congratulations, and hope your majority in November will be larger than your last.

JOHN O'BRIEN.

Wilmington, Del.

Accept my best wishes for your triumphant election, and assurance of my thorough and steadfast support in the canvass.

THOMAS F. BAYARD.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

Permit me to congratulate you on your nomination for President of the United States. It insures success to the Democracy in November next.

R. M. BISHOP.

Convention Hall, Chicago.

Pennsylvania congratulates New York.

W. U. HENSEL,

Chairman Pennsylvania State Committee.

BOSTON.

Your nomination is an endorsement of honest independence in public office. Accept my hearty congratulations.

LEOPOLD MORSE.

Chicago.

On behalf of the youngest of the sisters—Colorado—I congratulate you and promise you her three electoral votes.

T. O. O'DONNELL.

Chicago.

Glory, Hallelujah!

J. T. CAMPBELL of Alabama.

Chicago.

You were triumphantly nominated on the second ballot. I congratulate the country and you.

FRANCIS KERNAN.

New York.

I congratulate you upon your nomination, and confidently believe your fellow-countrymen will ratify it in November by an overwhelming majority.

SAMUEL D. BABCOCK,

Pres't Chamber of Commerce.

San Francisco.

California sends greeting, and will give you her electoral vote.

WM. D. ENGLISH.

In the evening a serenade was given to the Governor at the Executive Mansion by the Young Men's Democratic Club, who were joined by their invited guests, the Jacksonians. Thousands of citizens congregated in and about the Executive Mansion. The Tenth Regiment band played several selections, after which the Governor appeared at the main portico. He was received with much enthusiasm. He spoke as follows :

FELLOW-CITIZENS : I cannot but be gratified with this kindly greeting. I find that I am fast reaching the point where I shall count the people of Albany not merely as fellow-citizens, but as townsmen and neighbors. On this occasion I am, of course, aware that you pay no compliment to a citizen and present no personal tribute, but that you have come to demonstrate your loyalty and devotion to a cause in which you are heartily enlisted. The American people are about to exercise in its highest sense their power and right of sovereignty. They are to call in review before them their public servants and the representation of political parties, and demand of them an account of their stewardship. Parties may be so long in power, and may become so arrogant and careless of the interests of the people, as to grow heedless of their responsibility to their masters. But the time comes as certainly as death when the people weigh them in the balance. The issues to be adjudicated by the nation's great assize are made up and are about to be submitted. We believe that the people are not receiving at the hands of the party which for nearly

twenty-four years has directed the affairs of the nation the full benefits to which they are entitled—pure, just, and economical rule—and we believe that the ascendancy of genuine Democratic principles will insure a better Government and greater happiness and prosperity to all the people. To reach the sober thought of the nation and to dislodge an enemy intrenched behind spoils and patronage involves a struggle which, if we underestimate, we invite defeat. I am profoundly impressed with the responsibility of the part assigned to me in this contest. My heart, I know, is in the cause, and I pledge you that no effort of mine shall be wanting to secure the victory which I believe to be within the achievement of the Democratic hosts. Let us, then, enter upon the campaign now fairly opened, each one appreciating well the part he has to perform, ready with solid front to do battle for better government, confidently, courageously, always honorably, and with a firm reliance upon the intelligence and patriotism of the American people.

During the following days congratulations continued to pour in from all parts of the country. On the day succeeding his nomination the Governor was at his desk in the executive chamber discharging the business of his office with his usual method and care. He was probably the most industrious and painstaking Governor the State of New York ever had. At the time of his nomination the records of his office showed he had been absent from his post for less than a month in all. When

in Albany almost his entire time was spent in the Capitol or at the executive mansion. He kept no horses, and walked the short half mile from the house to the chamber three times a day. With few exceptions, his evenings were passed in work at the Capitol. Except when engaged in very important matters, the rooms were open to all visitors, and the Governor was easily accessible to any one who desired to see him. To the many who called on the day succeeding his nomination, it was evident that the nomination of Governor Cleveland for President made little or no change in the routine of his department. He was engaged in the perusal of official papers until late in the afternoon, stopping only at times to greet a caller or read the despatches handed him by Col. Lamont. Of the hundreds received the following are some of those of special significance :

Governor Stoneman, of California, telegraphed :

“The Democratic administration of the State of California tenders its congratulations on your nomination for President. You may confidently count upon the electoral vote of the State of California.”

Senator H. B. Payne, of Ohio, telegraphed :

“Please accept my sincere and joyful congratulations.”

From Governor Bate, of Tennessee, came the message :

"Accept my congratulation for your nomination, together with my hope and belief that you will be elected."

Winslow Warren, Secretary pro tem. of the Massachusetts Reform Club, at its dinner at the Parker House, Boston, forwarded this despatch :

"The Massachusetts Reform Club, of Boston, consisting of Republicans, Democrats, and Independents, are rejoicing that you are selected to lead the opposition to Blaine. The club tenders its heartiest congratulations and assurances of enthusiastic support."

United States Senator Randall L. Gibson, of Louisiana, said :

"I beg to tender my cordial wishes for your election and the assurance that the people of Louisiana will respond to your nomination in the earnest hope that it may successfully appeal to the moral sense and comprehensive patriotism and national spirit of the young men of the country, who must feel that the time has at last come to obliterate sectional and wornout issues, and to insist upon greater responsibility, a higher sense of honor, economy, and genuine reform of our common government."

The first invitation to participate in a public event came from the managers of the Cincinnati Industrial Exposition, who invited Governor Cleve-

land to be their guest some time in September during the exhibition.

Among the many gentlemen who called on Governor Cleveland was Senator R. Gibson, of Louisiana, who had been stopping at Saratoga a few days, and who in company with President White of the Louisiana State University at the invitation of the Governor paid him a visit. They had quite an extended conversation, and the senator went away much pleased. Meeting some friends, Mr. Gibson gave his opinion of the Democratic nominee as follows :

“ I like him very much,” he answered. “ He is a man of plain, simple manner, and does not look as though he was pulled out of his boots by the suddenness with which fame has fallen upon him. I think he is just the man to lead in this movement. He is an honest, good, strong, hearty man, and his candidacy will raise our politics out of the old ruts. I have had a number of letters from old friends in the North expressing joy at his nomination. They say there is a chance now to get completely away from the past and to bring the best men of the South and the North together once more. I must say I am greatly pleased with the outlook. I believe that a strong sentiment in favor of reform is setting in, and that the culmination of it will be the election of Governor Cleveland.”

CHAPTER VI.

THE LEADING JOURNALS ON THE NOMINATIONS—WHAT THE NEWSPAPERS SAID ON THE NOMINATION OF GROVER CLEVELAND AND THOMAS A. HENDRICKS—WITH BUT ONE EXCEPTION THE PROMINENT NEWSPAPERS OF NEW YORK CITY SPOKE FAVORABLY OF THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

THE political contest of 1884 furnished an unusually good test of the power of the press in influencing political action.

The *New York Herald*, the most conspicuous of all American newspapers, departed so far from its usual attitude of indifference as to print the names of the Democratic candidates at the head of its editorial columns, and it went into the fight with old-time enthusiasm. The *Times*, one of the two great Republican dailies, gave its support to Cleveland and it was joined by the *Evening Post*, a paper that had always been consistent to the honorable record of its founder, William Cullen Bryant, one of the founders of the Republican party. The *Sun* was strongly opposed to Blaine, and the *Staats Zeitung*, the great German daily, was earnestly for Cleveland. So also were the *World*, the *Journal*, *Truth*, the *Evening Telegram* and the *Evening News*. The *Graphic*, too, was for Cleveland. The *Journal of Commerce* was neutral, and the *Commercial Ad-*

vertiser, though Republican, was quite lukewarm toward Blaine and evidently did not exert itself much in his behalf. There remained only the *Tribune*, which led the Liberal Republican revolt of 1872, but now was the accepted Blaine organ.

To the anti-Blaine forces are also to be added such influential weeklies as the *Independent*, an old Republican organ with a very large circulation throughout the United States; *Harper's Weekly*, with its steadfast Republican record, and *Puck*, a very vigorous fighter. But this list might be prolonged indefinitely; it is sufficient to show that the press of New York city is all but unanimous in support of Governor Cleveland against Blaine.

The majority of the newspapers of other States, among whom we find the Boston *Transcript*, the Springfield *Republican* and other prominent Republican dailies have also declared in favor of the Democratic ticket.

The Boston *Globe*, one of the leading papers of New England, on the day after the nomination published the following editorial, which it headed "President Cleveland."

"The Democratic Convention at Chicago selected the next President of the United States when it bestowed the highest nomination in its gift upon Grover Cleveland, of New York.

"The Convention was composed of 820 of the best representatives of a party which has seen the birth and death of every other party, save one,

during our existence as a nation. The exception is the Republican party, and Grover Cleveland's nomination means that the grand old organization which has stood defeat after defeat for nearly a quarter of a century, will once more grasp the crown of victory in November and bury its great rival beyond hope of resurrection.

"Grover Cleveland is a man who challenges the support of every newspaper and every man who desires honest government. He will again set up that standard of honesty and the practical exemplification of good government which every lover of his country desires and has the right to expect from such an administration as the nominee will give to the United States. Hence Grover Cleveland will have the hearty support of the *Globe* in the campaign upon which we have now entered.

"Of his triumphant election we have not a shadow of a doubt.

"We do not take any stock in the attempts of the Republican papers to show that our foreign voters will go for Mr. Blaine. In the first place, these Republican papers have insulted what they call the foreign voters times without number. Now, in the vain hope of securing some of their votes, they are extremely complimentary to men they earnestly despise. In the second place, the men designated have always righteously resented this constant reiteration of the statement that they are foreigners. They are here to stay. They are American citizens, and are proud of the fact. Many of them helped to fight our battles. They believe in this home of the brave, this land of the free, and are as proud of and as loyal to America as any of our citizens. They are as true as steel to the Demo-

cratic party and its principles, and see that through their triumph will American citizenship be best protected, whether at home or abroad.

“Governor Cleveland will be supported by a united and aggressive Democratic party. He will have the votes of tens of thousands of independent Republicans. He will have the support of the larger part of successful newspapers of the country, both secular and religious. He will have the confidence and votes of the business men of the land. It will be shown that this poor boy who has worked his way up to the proud position which he now holds knows what it is to work day in and day out, and that he is a true friend of the toiling masses. It will be demonstrated in a thousand ways that he is the man upon which all the opposition to Mr. Blaine can best be concentrated. It will be shown that Grover Cleveland will be elected.”

The comments of the independent newspapers of New York and New England upon Mr. Blaine's nomination were so positive that their meaning and intent could not be mistaken. The New York papers long distinctively independent are the *Herald*, *Sun* and *Staats Zeitung*. The *Herald* believed that every man who cares for the purity of public life and the welfare of the country must regret such a nomination. It thought, however, that the choice would be accepted by a large number of voters with something of grim satisfaction, as it would enable the party and the country to bury out of sight so bad a candidate as James G. Blaine by an overwhelm-

ing defeat. It believed that these voters would congratulate themselves that they were in a fair way to have done with Blaine forever. The *Herald* believed that Cleveland was the most available as well as the best Democratic candidate.

The *Sun* was of opinion that while many Republicans would oppose Mr. Blaine his weakness would not come so much from his old transactions in railway bonds and in the Mulligan letters as from his Quixotic policy when he was Secretary of State. Of the ensuing campaign the *Sun* says :

“But those who imagine that because of such disaffection the country is now to witness a spiritless canvass and an easy triumph for the opposition are, in our judgment, very much in error. Mr. Blaine is a fertile and sensational politician and he will force the fighting from the start. Moreover, a party in power is always hard to beat, and the Republican party can outdo in this respect all others that ever existed outside of Mexico. It will not be enough to defeat Mr. Blaine at the polls. It will not be enough to have against him an immense majority of the people. It will not be enough to have a majority of the electoral college. Fraud and force will be brought into play by the Republican officeholders in 1884 just as freely as they were in 1876. Mr. Blaine is a man of desperate expedients. His party is a desperate party.”

The *Truth* and *Journal* were also opposed to Mr. Blaine, and expressed their confidence in his in-

ability to carry the country with him when its sober sense was taken, as must be the case after a canvass of four months.

The *Times* has long been the great Independent newspaper of New York city inside the Republican party. During the preliminary canvass it waged bitter warfare upon Blaine. It then repudiated him with a positiveness which showed that it had crossed the Rubicon and burned its bridges. The *Times* was confident of Mr. Blaine's defeat, of which and the consequences it said :

“There will be nothing ambiguous about the defeat of Mr. Blaine. He who runs may clearly read the verdict in advance: ‘A candidate unworthy of confidence and a party too careless of its own honor to be longer trusted with the nation’s.’ That defeat will be the salvation of the Republican party. It will arouse its torpid conscience, it will stir it to self-purification, it will depose the false leaders who have fastened themselves upon it, it will send the rogues to the background and will make the party once more worthy of power.”

As to its own position in the canvass it says, with a plainness that cannot be mistaken :

“The *Times* will not support Mr. Blaine for the Presidency. It will advise no man to vote for him, and its reasons for this course are perfectly well understood by everybody that has ever read it.”

The *Evening Post*, all of whose traditions are

independent and which has been the leading Republican evening paper for a generation, early led the fight against Blaine. It then announced that his defeat was certain and its magnitude depended largely upon the action of the Democrats. It believed that the nomination of Cleveland left the Republican candidate without a remaining chance. Its own position was well presented in the following extract :

“The Chicago Republican Convention asks a large and, by every one’s admission, influential minority to accept a candidate whom it believes to represent more than aught else the base and corrupt office-holding element in American politics. What makes the matter all the worse is that the situation thus created is one in which no compromise is possible. What is to be the issue from this deplorable and disastrous, but deliberately created, muddle, it is yet too soon to forecast. That Mr. Blaine cannot be elected we look on as certain. Whether he can be defeated without ruining the organization which is being prostituted in the service of his selfish ambition remains to be seen. Whatever happens, we believe a great political purification will be the result, and we shall somehow have a party which will represent the American people in its noblest mood and will adequately express the national respect for the virtues by which governments as well as homes are maintained and defended.”

The Boston *Advertiser* has long been the leading Republican newspaper of New England. But it

had been gradually getting away from the position of an organ and had manifested a tendency toward Independence. It asserted that to a large section of the Republican party the nomination of Mr. Blaine would appear ominous of disaster.

We need not enter upon any formal declaration of our own entire agreement with those Republicans who thus fail to find in the nomination any fit expression of the established principles and avowed aims of the Republican party. We declare our inability to support Mr. Blaine, either in the present aspect of the political field or in any which now seems likely to present itself.

The Boston *Herald* has been Independent for many years, with strong Republican leanings. It conceded that Mr. Blaine was a representative Republican, representative of the aims, methods, principles and purposes of the "jobbing and trading politicians" who shape its action and contribute to its success. With this assumption it announced its own purposes :

"It is perhaps well that the party should ask the judgment of the people under the leadership of a candidate who embodies more completely than any other man the real spirit of Republicanism. Mr. Blaine is no stool-pigeon nor mask. There is no cant or reform about him. The people know him. Believing that Mr. Blaine would be a bad and dangerous President we hope to see him defeated.

Believing him to be a weak candidate we expect to see him defeated. If the Democrats rise to the occasion, nominate Governor Cleveland and give him an honest support, we believe they will carry the election."

The Springfield *Republican* had long been as prominent for its unwavering Republicanism as for its undoubted independence inside the lines of its party. It said :

"The Republican party, dazzled with the qualities which please the mob, have placed Mr. Blaine in nomination, thereby giving to the Democratic party the greatest opportunity it has ever had to recover power by nominating a clean, able, safe and progressive statesman like Grover Cleveland. New York is the vital State, and the nomination of Cleveland, with his views in favor of revenue reform and civil service reform, and his efficient administration, would undoubtedly win the support of the Independent vote. If the Democrats will only rise to the magnitude of their opportunity they will make a strong appeal to the plain people who prefer an unsullied, honorable and safe leader like Governor Cleveland to a demagogue of the speculative school of pretended statesmanship."

The accomplished editor of *Harper's Weekly*, who represented the Independent movement in the National Convention, and who best represented their actual position in connection with their

"bolt," thus succinctly stated what that position was in that journal. He said :

"There are plenty of Republicans who do not feel any obligation of any kind to support bad Republican nominations. They see that to insist upon support of the regular candidate without regard to his character or career, for the reason that to oppose him would endanger the party, is to hold either that the party can never nominate an unfit candidate, or that however unfit a candidate may be and whatever light his nomination may throw upon the party, nobody who has ever voted with the party would be justified in voting against him. This is a doctrine which no self-respecting man and no intelligent Republican can hold; and the Republican protest of this year will have been most serviceable if it should do no more than show more clearly than ever what this journal has always maintained, that the first duty of a citizen is not to a party, but to his own conscience."

The New York *Times*, one of the most influential and ably edited Republican newspapers, said :

"With Grover Cleveland as its candidate the Democratic party appeals with unmistakable directness to the moral sense of the people of the United States. Shall the next President be a man who has weakly yielded to temptation, or a man who has unswervingly adhered to the right against great temptations to do wrong? A man who begs pecuniary rewards of those his official action has enriched, or one who defies corrupt dictation and seeks only by a just course to deserve the approval

of all honorable and right-thinking men? This is the supreme issue. It is this which the voters of the republic are to decide. It is not the issue of protection; the tariff has nothing to do with it. The honest convictions and patriotism of ten millions of voters are appealed to, and they will settle this question conclusively and for the right.

"It is not only in what he clearly represents, but in what he opposes, that Grover Cleveland is strong before the American people. His career has made him the exponent of clean and honest politics. In the administration of public trusts he has shown that he is superior to partisan bias and opposed to all party measures that are in conflict with official probity and the public welfare. He has been severely tried in the important and responsible position he now occupies as Governor of the great Empire State. He has resisted the importunities of designing politicians and defeated the plans of selfish schemers. All members of his own party who are not striving for private gains which are in conflict with the public good are outspoken in his praise, and he has won the good opinion of all men who are not so biased by partisanship as to have lost the power to commend upright conduct in a political adversary.

"Could a candidate find stronger recommendation than this in the opinion of voters whose political actions are shaped solely by considerations of the public good? The official acts which have won for Governor Cleveland the intense hostility of all jobbers and disreputable men are the very acts which have most strongly commended him to the support of honest voters."

The New York *Herald* printed the names of the candidates of the Democratic party at the head of its editorial columns, and on the day succeeding the convention published the following editorial :

“We congratulate the Democratic party upon the work of its convention at Chicago and the opportunity it offers to the American people through a union of patriotic voters, by whatever name they call themselves—Democrats, Independents, Labor Reformers, or whatsoever else—to redeem the country from the disgrace and peril to which the Republican party has plotted to expose it by the thoroughly bad nominations of Blaine and Logan. Cleveland’s easy nomination on the second ballot justifies all that we have said of the sound judgment and good sense of this convention when put to a decisive test of choosing between what is vital, sound and vigorous in the democracy and what is very much the other way, and the convention is to be congratulated upon the fact that it has named the man who will be the next President.

“Parties in this country are now at a turning-point in their history, and it is for the democracy, if it hopes to impress its convictions upon the life of the nation, to take this turn in the tide at its happy moment, or it must remain stranded with the wrecks of its past history. The nomination of Cleveland means that the young democracy is determined to take the tide at its flood. We believe also that it is a nomination which will command the approval of the aged and sagacious as well as the enthusiasm of the vigorous and youthful.”

The Philadelphia *Ledger*, the great newspaper owned by Mr. George W. Childs, which is independent in politics, spoke in an ably-written editorial in regard to the nominations of the Democratic Convention as follows :

“ The delegates thus made a wise determination for their party and a good one for the country. Governor Cleveland has shown through the whole of his life, private and public, from boyhood to his present distinction, that he has the sterling qualities befitting the exalted office of Chief Executive of the United States. It is the highest function of that office to administer the laws with an eye single to the public welfare. Our government has been tersely described as ‘ of the people, by the people, and for the people.’ No eminent public man has exhibited a better understanding of that definition of the American government than Grover Cleveland; none has exemplified it better than he has in his performance of public duty, and but few, very few indeed, have exemplified it so well. His guiding characteristics have been loyalty to duty, courage in the discharge of it, and the best and most faithful performance of it within his power. These are strong words; strong because they are true.

“ The traits we have mentioned are not revelations of his public career alone. They showed themselves in his early boyhood, when as a store-boy he won by his faithful work the good-will and strong attachment of his employers; again, as a teacher of the blind; again, as law-clerk and law-student, battling his way through most discourag-

ing difficulties; again, as Assistant District Attorney and lawyer; as Sheriff of his county, as Mayor of Buffalo, and as Governor of the State of New York. He is known among his neighbors (the humblest and the highest) as a man to rely upon, 'safe to trust to do what is right.' These characteristics, with his bright intelligence and strong abilities, have given him his distinctions and preferments, for the office has always sought him and not he the office.

"'Cleveland won our admiration by his three marked traits of character—his indomitable industry, unpretentious courage, and unswerving honesty. I never saw a more thorough man at anything he undertook.' This is the testimony of one of his associates in the law office in which he passed from boyhood to vigorous manhood. It bespeaks a fully-equipped man, and that is the man he has shown himself to be in fighting the battles of the people against the combined spoilsmen and 'rings' of his city and State. There have been men, and there are men now, with noble ideals of what true and pure government means as a trust held for the people. It has happened to but few of these to have the opportunity to realize their ideal in office, and of those who have had the opportunity fewer still have carried the ideal into consistent, inexorable practice. Governor Cleveland is one of those who have. In his view and in his practice as a public officer the money of the people and the interests of the people are held as trusts *for* the people, to be exercised as carefully, as faithfully, and as honorably as the most sacred private trust. His views of public office, as here expressed, are his guides in every performance of

public duty; so it may be repeated that a man with such traits of private and public character, broad-minded and bright-minded, self-poised, self-reliant, independent and courageous as Governor Cleveland is, has the sterling qualities that befit the office of President of the United States."

The N. Y. *Truth*, on the day after the convention, published the following editorial :

"As between Cleveland and Blaine no Democrat will hesitate, and no Republican ought to. In all the offices he has held he acquitted himself creditably and came out of them unspotted. He made a good Mayor; he makes a good Governor. Who can doubt that he will make a good President? He has made mistakes, no doubt, but who has not? He has never made a mistake by which his integrity was compromised. If he vetoed the Five-cent Fare bill it was not for the purpose of claiming a reward from the elevated railroad corporations. His record is a clean one, his character is unimpeachable, his principles are known and sound. He would make a safe President both for the business interests of the country and in the maintenance of friendly relations with foreign powers."

The N. Y. *Staats Zeitung*, one of the most influential German daily papers, said :

"It cannot be honestly denied that a change of parties in office, brought about without revolution, can only have a wholesome effect. No party can continue a long, uninterrupted possession of power

without becoming a prey to corruption. The Republican party has furnished ample proof of this. Mr. Cleveland's record as chief magistrate of a large city and a great State has made him in the popular mind the prototype of a conscientious official, unwavering in principle, and one who, to the deep chagrin of professional politicians, has always held the public interest above party considerations. Mr. Cleveland will certainly use the whole power of the presidential office to purify the federal service and to keep it pure, and this, above all, is expected by the people of the President. Wherever corruption has taken root he would not, as would be the case with a Republican President, have to exercise leniency, and he will take proper precautions in order that the corruption may not be continued under the Democratic *régime*. No earthly power will be able to induce him to let corruptionists use the influence of his high office.

“The point has been forcibly made in Chicago that Cleveland's strength among the German-Americans is especially great, and this has, as we learn from good sources, contributed essentially toward securing him the nomination. The sympathies of the Germans for Cleveland were placed in direct and strong contrast to the enmity of the spoils politicians who comprise Tammany's strength. The Germans were recognized in Chicago as a model political element, which holds reform measures paramount over all other considerations, and which cannot be made to swerve from this deep rooted opinion by party consideration or that kind of patriotism commonly called State pride. Blaine's political record has principally brought about the decided aversion of the Germans against him, and

his identification with the prohibitionists and know-nothingism has given additional strength to this aversion.

“The Republican party has since Blaine’s nomination entirely lost the hold it once had on the Germans, which had been greatly weakened after the slavery issue had been disposed of, and especially since the Republican party became a synonyme for corruption. Hence the nomination of Mr. Cleveland will make it especially advisable for the Germans to join *en masse* the Democratic party. The large northwestern States, where the Germans have for so many years enabled the Republican party to maintain its power, have, under these circumstances, become doubtful States, and we may expect a great political revolution in Indiana and Wisconsin, and perhaps even in Illinois.”

The *Boston Transcript* (Rep.) in the following editorial predicted that independent voters would elect the next President:

“No candid Republican can fail to admire the courage and sagacity which induced the Democratic Convention to nominate Governor Cleveland for President, despite General Butler’s enmity, the threats of Kelly and his mercenary gang to control the result. The political foresight of the convention gloriously triumphed, in spite of all the strenuous efforts that interested demagogues put forth to obscure and mislead its judgment. Butler and Kelly have been virtually told that they must support the candidate whose independent course has excited their bitterest wrath or leave the Democratic party.”

WHAT MR. TILDEN THOUGHT OF THE TICKET.

A reporter had an interview with Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, at Greystone, near New York, shortly after the Chicago Convention had made the nominations.

"Mr. Tilden, how do you regard the nomination of Cleveland?" was asked.

"It is a good nomination. Mr. Cleveland is very popular and I think he will beat Blaine."

"What do you think of the nomination of Hendricks?"

"It is rather queer that Mr. Hendricks should be put in the second place upon the ticket. He will give it great strength, however, especially in Indiana and the West. Mr. Hendricks is a man who would sacrifice his own ambition for the benefit of the party, and, of course, will do all in his power to help his own election. I had an idea that he was not so popular as the outburst in his favor at the convention proved."

"Will you take any part in the campaign?"

Mr. Tilden smiled sadly as he replied:

"No. I have withdrawn from political life forever. Still I want to see this great country in honest hands before I die."

From Orlando B. Potter, of Tammany Hall, the following telegram arrived on the day succeeding the convention: "Having honestly and earnestly labored for another nomination, I accept the people's choice as my law, and will devote what-

ever ability I possess to your election." Judge Barrett of the Supreme Court, cabled from London: "I congratulate the country upon your nomination." Many like messages came from Americans in Berlin, Paris and other foreign points. Isadore Wormser, the banker, sends his congratulations all the way from Aachen, Germany. Mr. D. Willis James, head of the house of Phelps, Dodge and Co., says: "My warmest congratulations. Now for constant, faithful work to render your election absolutely certain. I pledge my most earnest support."

Especially noticeable were the large number of messages from young men's clubs. The young men came forward for the Governor with the greatest enthusiasm. They indicate a genuine revolutionary uprising, and even the most sanguine friends of Governor Cleveland were hardly prepared for so generous a response to his nomination.

Mr. John De Mott, the New York banker, said:—"I believe the success of the Democratic party will be very beneficial to all interests when the records of the two men named upon it are considered. Judging Mr. Cleveland's future by his past, and remembering his record from the moment he entered political life, one can see at a glance that every step he has taken has been marked by honesty, a strict regard of duty and sterling integrity. In his case position has always sought the man,

not the man the position, and as a public officer he has done more to destroy political rings than any other man who has been invested with executive power for a long time. His fight for right and justice for the taxpayers of the city of New York brought him into disfavor with Tammany Hall."

Mr. Matthias B. Smith, a founder of the firm of Dun, Barlow & Co., said:—"I think the nomination of Governor Cleveland should be regarded as a real cause for congratulation, not alone by his own party, but by all Americans who have business or other interests at stake. In his administration as Governor he has shown a prudence and capacity that guarantee the best results should he be called to the Chief Magistracy. I think his election would conduce to promote the interests of the commercial community, and he would suffer no sudden changes to be made which would unsettle business or in any way deteriorate from the national prosperity.

"I think Cleveland's nomination the best and strongest that could be made," said General George B. McClellan, at his charming residence on the brow of Orange Mountain last evening to a *Herald* reporter. "I believe he will be elected," the General continued. "He will carry New Jersey, of course, and by a handsome majority. The Democratic platform is a very good one."

Mr. J. C. Havemeyer, in reply to a question as to whether he thought the election of Cleveland

would have a simulating effect on business, said :—
“The present administration tends to foster monopolies, and I believe the sentiment of the business men is to change this policy as soon as possible. Mr. Cleveland, I think, is the right man to change this system. He represents the reform element of his party. He has shown in his administration that he had more regard for the real interests of the people than for the interests of the politicians. Therefore he has gathered about him all that is good and has made enemies of all that is bad ; and this, it seems to me, is a very healthy condition. This has made him prominent.”

“What do you think of the principles set forth in the platform ?”

“Platforms upon which a candidate stands before the public are of no consequence in a case like this. I look more to the man than to the platform, for platforms are framed to catch votes. Mr. Cleveland is not a partisan, and that is why I like him. I think he is an extremely safe man to be President, and I believe he will be elected.”

CHAPTER VII.

MR. CLEVELAND NOTIFIED.

A NOTABLE GATHERING IN ALBANY—THE SCENE AT THE EXECUTIVE MANSION WHEN THE NOMINEE WAS OFFICIALLY INFORMED OF HIS SELECTION—THE GOVERNOR'S DIGNIFIED REPLY—A RALLY AT NIGHT.

THE committee charged with the duty of formally presenting the edict of the last Chicago Convention and those public characters who accompanied them in performing the task made up an assemblage of notables, such as had not for years, if ever, been gathered together for a like purpose. Every train and boat which came in this morning brought prominent Democrats from all parts of the country, and before noon the rotunda of the Delevan House presented much the appearance of one of the Washington hotels when Congress is in session. Besides men of prominence in the politics of almost every State in the Union the members of the national Democratic and Congressional committees were on hand. About noon ex-Speaker Randall arrived and was all day surrounded by a large crowd of admirers. Perhaps there were fifty prominent personages, representing the best elements of the party, brought here to see and partici-

pate in the notable event made doubly so by the character of the assemblage.

At ten o'clock the national committee met at the Delevan House, but its chairman, ex-Senator Barnum, was not present and Congressman J. S. Barbour, of Virginia, presided. It transacted no business except to name an executive committee, consisting of William H. Barnum, Connecticut, ex-officio; A. P. Gorman, Maryland; M. W. Ransom, North Carolina; B. F. Jonas, Louisiana; Hubert O. Thompson, New York; William A. Wallace, Pennsylvania; John S. Barbour, Virginia; William F. Vilas, Wisconsin; Austin H. Brown, Indiana; M. M. Hamm, Iowa; H. D. McHenry, Kentucky; P. H. Kelly, Minnesota; Bradley B. Smalley, Vermont; A. W. Sulloway, New Hampshire; F. W. Dawson, South Carolina; W. W. Armstrong, Ohio; Miles Ross, New Jersey; S. Corning Judd, Illinois; J. B. Barnaby, Rhode Island, and John G. Prather, Missouri. Charles J. Canda, of New York, was re-elected treasurer. The committee adjourned about noon to meet again at three o'clock to accompany the notification committee to the Executive Mansion.

It was about ten minutes past three o'clock when the Democratic Phalanx, of Albany, a fine-looking body of men, headed by a band, appeared at the Delevan House to escort the notification committee and distinguished visitors to the Executive Mansion. Despite the rain and mud they marched through

the street, while the committees were taken up in carriages. Along the line of march, in spite of the inclement weather, there were crowds of people gathered. It was after half-past three o'clock when the procession reached the Governor's house. The mansion had been thrown open before the visitors reached there and quite a number of prominent men had gathered in the parlors, which had been beautifully decorated for the occasion. In the centre of each, at the foot of the large mirrors that hang against the walls, there were great banks of flowers, and other floral decorations were placed about the rooms. It was just four o'clock when the committees were all gathered in the east parlor ready to receive the nominee, and Colonel Vilas stepped toward the centre of the room.

At this moment Governor Cleveland entered the room alone, stepped across it and, with his back to the bank of exotics, waited Colonel Vilas' speech. He was received with a round of applause as he faced the company. The room at this moment presented a very interesting picture. It was well crowded with leading men of his party. To his right stood his two sisters, Mrs. W. E. Hayt, of Fayetteville, in this State, and Miss R. E. Cleveland, the maiden sister who still lives in the little home cottage at Holland Patent. To his left and near Mr. Bissell, of Buffalo, his law partner, were his two nieces, Miss Mary and Carry Hastings, daughters of his sister who for twenty odd years

had been a missionary at Ceylon. These young ladies the Governor is educating in this country. Near them were Colonel Lamont, the Governor's private secretary, and his wife and a few other ladies, and beyond stood Joseph Pulitzer, of the *World*, and Senators Matt Ransom, Jonas and O. P. Gorman. Toward the front were ex-Speaker Randall, Judge Abbott, Congressman P. A. Collins and General M. T. Donahue, of Massachusetts, and other notable men.

Just as the Governor looked the audience full in the face Colonel Vilas stepped forward and said :

“Grover Cleveland, Governor of the State of New York : These gentlemen, my associates here present, whose voice I am honored with authority to utter, are a committee appointed by the National Democratic Convention which recently assembled in Chicago and charged with the grateful duty of acquainting you officially and in that solemn and ceremonious manner which the dignity and importance of the communication demands with the interesting result of its deliberations, already known to you through the ordinary channels of news.

“ Sir, that august body, convened by direct delegation from the Democratic people of the several States and Territories of the Republic, and deliberating under the witness of the greatest assembly of freemen ever gathered to such a conference in forethought of the election which the Constitution imposes upon them to make during the current

year, have nominated you to the people of these United States to be their President for the next ensuing term of that great office, and with grave consideration of its exalted responsibilities have confidently invoked their suffrages to invest you with its functions. Through this committee the Convention's high requirement is delivered that you accept that candidacy.

“This choice carries with it profound personal respect and admiration, but it has been in no manner the fruit of these sentiments. The National Democracy seek a President, not in compliment for what the man is or reward for what he has done, but in a just expectation of what he will accomplish as the true servant of a free people, fit for their lofty trust. Always of a momentous consequence, they conceive the public exigency to be now of transcendent importance, that a laborious reform in administration as well as legislation is imperatively necessary to the prosperity and honor of the Republic, and a competent Chief Magistrate must be of unusual temper and power. They have observed with attention your execution of the public trusts you have held, especially of that with which you are now so honorably invested. They place reliance for the usefulness of the service they expect to exact for the benefit of the nation upon the evidence derived from the services you have performed for the State of New York. They invite the electors to such proof of character and competence to

justify their confidence that in the nation, as heretofore in the State, the public business will be administered with commensurate intelligence and ability, with single-hearted honesty and fidelity and with a resolute and daring fearlessness which no faction, no combination, no power of wealth, no mistaken clamor can dismay or qualify. In the spirit of the wisdom and invoking the benediction of the divine Creator of men, we challenge from the sovereignty of the nation His words in commendation and ratification of our choice, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things.' In further fulfilment of our duty the secretary will now present the written communication signed by the committee."

These remarks were frequently interrupted by applause, for they were delivered with masterly effect. The speaker, who has a perfectly trained voice, seemed to intend from the start to get the best effects possible out of his splendidly turned sentences. During this delivery the Governor kept his eyes steadily fixed upon the speaker. He stood with his right hand between the buttons of his Prince Albert coat and looked much like a well-settled business man. Two or three times he seemed to be affected by the speaker's eloquent words, but he quickly regained his self-possession and listened attentively. As Colonel Vilas closed Secretary Bell, of the committee, began to read

the formal letter of notification, which was as follows :

“ To the Hon. GROVER CLEVELAND, of New York :

Sir: In accordance with a custom befitting the nature of the communication, the undersigned, representing the several States and Territories of the Union, were appointed a committee by the National Democratic Convention, which assembled at Chicago on the 8th day of the current month, to perform the pleasing office, which we have the honor to execute, of informing you of your nomination as the candidate of the Democratic party for the office of President of the United States. A declaration of the principles upon which the Democracy go before the people with a hope of establishing and maintaining them in the government was made by the Convention, and an engrossed copy thereof is submitted in connection with this communication for your consideration. We trust the approval of your judgment will follow an examination of this expression of opinion and policy, and upon the political controversy now made up we invite your acceptance of the exalted leadership to which you have been chosen. The election of a President is an event of the utmost importance to the people of America. Prosperity, growth, happiness, peace and liberty even may depend upon its wise ordering. Your unanimous nomination is proof that the Democracy believe your election will most contribute to secure those great objects. We assure you that in the anxious responsibilities you must assume as a candidate you will have the steadfast, cordial support of the friends of the cause you will represent, and in the execution of the duties of the

high office which we confidently expect from the wisdom of the nation to be conferred upon you, you may securely rely for approving aid upon the patriotism, honor and intelligence of this free people. We have the honor to be, with great respect, etc."

The address was signed by all the members of the committee.

The reading embarrassed and somewhat interrupted the harmony of the addresses, as all were anxious to hear Governor Cleveland. The letter being finished, the Presidential candidate replied in a clear, distinct tone of voice as follows :

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: Your formal announcement does not, of course, convey to me the first information of the result of the Convention lately held by the Democracy of the nation ; and yet, when as I listen to your message, I see about me representatives from all parts of the land of the great party which, claiming to be the party of the people, asks them to entrust to it the administration of their government, and when I consider under the influence of the stern reality which the present surroundings create, that I have been chosen to represent the plans, purposes and the policy of the Democratic party, I am profoundly impressed by the solemnity of the occasion and by the responsibility of my position. Though I gratefully appreciate it, I do not, at this moment, congratulate myself upon the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me, because my mind is full of an anxious desire to perform well the part which has been assigned to me.

“Nor do I at this moment forget that the rights and interests of more than fifty millions of my fellow-citizens are involved in our efforts to gain Democratic supremacy. This reflection presents to my mind the consideration which, more than all others, gives to the action of my party in Convention assembled its most sober and serious aspect. The party and its representatives which ask to be entrusted at the hands of the people with the keeping of all that concerns their welfare and their safety should only ask it with the full appreciation of the sacredness of the trust and with a firm resolve to administer it faithfully and well. I am a Democrat because I believe that this truth lies at the foundation of true Democracy. I have kept the faith because I believe, if rightly and fairly administered and applied, Democratic doctrines and measures will insure the happiness, contentment and prosperity of the people. If, in the contest upon which we now enter, we steadfastly hold to the underlying principles of our party creed and at all times keep in view the people's good, we shall be strong because we are true to ourselves and because the plain and independent voters of the land will seek by their suffrages to compass their release from party tyranny, where there should be submission to the popular will, and their protection from party corruption where there should be devotion to the people's interests.

“These thoughts lend a consecration to our cause and we go forth, not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefits of an honest administration of national affairs. No higher purpose or motive can stimulate us to supreme effort or urge us to continu-

ous and earnest labor and effective party organization. Let us not fail in this, and we may confidently hope to reap the full reward of patriotic services well performed.

“I have thus called to mind some simple truths, and trite though they are it seems to me we do well to dwell upon them at this time. I shall soon, I hope, signify in the usual formal manner my acceptance of the nomination which has been tendered to me. In the meantime I gladly greet you all as co-workers in a noble cause.”

Twice Mr. Cleveland was interrupted by applause and his reply made a powerful impression upon his listeners. He spoke entirely without notes and never for a moment under these most trying circumstances lost his perfect self-control. His tones were clear and distinct, and although he was making the effort of his life up to the present hour he did not falter under the very severe test of making an address of this character from memory. Even so trained a public speaker as Mr. Blaine read his reply to the committee of notification rather than trust himself to his memory.

Governor Cleveland's was the central figure of a very picturesque scene. As the candidate finished speaking the audience began to press forward to shake his hand and congratulate him. The chairman of the committee and Secretary Prince introduced each member, and for the time the parlor presented a very animated scene. In the throng,

besides those above mentioned, were ex-Senator Stockton, of New Jersey; Congressman Perry Belmont, Erastus Corning, Colonel George H. Bardwell, of Pennsylvania; Congressman G. H. Oury, of Arizona, and many other important people of State and national fame. After the handshaking was over the company was invited to partake of a lunch, and an hour or more was spent in eating and talking. The Governor mingled freely with the guests who stayed to partake of his hospitality. It was well on toward night before all had departed, and the notable event was a thing of the past.

A reception was given directly after the notification at the Fort Orange Club House. This is an entirely non-partisan club, but it joined in honoring the distinguished guests. After a liberal collation speeches were made by General Hooker, Governor Waller and Judge Parker, and the following important telegram was read by Senator Thacher:—

GREYSTONE, July 29, 1884.

TO DEMOCRATIC PHALANX, ALBANY:—

I received last evening your invitation to attend the meeting this evening under the auspices of the Albany Democratic phalanx for the purpose of ratifying the nomination of Cleveland and Hendricks. Although I cannot be present in person with my old friends in Albany on that interesting occasion, I cordially co-operate with them in support of the excellent nominations by the Democratic National Convention, and feel assured that

in its success at the election, of which there is every promise, the country will achieve a substantial victory for the cause of good government.

S. J. TILDEN.

In conversation with Speaker Randall at the Fort Orange Club, he said:—"The Democratic platform in its tariff plank is the most intelligent statement of the case ever presented in any public or private document. It meets the case in every point exactly as the country likes to have it. When we arrive at the point of protecting industries to the extent of the difference between the cost of production here and that of production elsewhere, that is all that is wanted. There need be no talk either of high protection or infant industries."

In the evening two very large and enthusiastic ratification meetings were held at the Music Hall and the Leland Opera House, when addresses were made by Col. Vilas, ex-Speaker Samuel J. Randall, of Pennsylvania, Governor Waller, of Connecticut, General Charles F. Hooker, of Mississippi, A. V. Stevenson, of Illinois, Congressman Patrick C. Collins, of Massachusetts, Jos. Pulitzer of the *New York World*, and Col. John R. Fellows, of New York.

There is a tone of Democratic simplicity and an air of dignified sincerity in the proceedings of notification and in the speeches, characteristic of the men and the occasion, the more notable for the

remarkable contrast presented with the theatrical demonstration at Augusta. As in the one scene we saw a company of charlatans and speculators playing a game of vainglorious pretence and organizing a display to strike the imagination of feeble-minded admirers, so in the other we perceive a group of unpretentious gentlemen discharging a public duty in a plain, manly way and exchanging greetings related to the subject in hand. There was nothing brilliant or *magnetic* in what was said by or to Governor Cleveland, but there was a deal of sound common sense on both sides.

Mr. Vilas was happy in his statement of the point of the case when he said:—"The national Democracy seek a President not in compliment for what the man is or reward for what he has done, but in a just expectation of what he will accomplish as the true servant of a free people fit for their lofty trust." That is to say, the Democracy is not giving rewards or booming favorite sons or *magnetic* politicians, but is endeavoring to secure the welfare of the nation by putting into the Presidency a man who will overhaul the administration of the government, correct the abuses he finds and prevent plunder and other villany. That is the correct standard of choice, and one that seems to be too little understood by the friends of various aspirants for the nomination, who make it a grievance that a new man was preferred to some one of forty old

war-horses. The new man is what the nation wants.

But a party needs a certain guarantee that the man it chooses for the execution of its will shall have the mettle for the duty, and such guarantee it must find in what he has done. This conception was well presented by the quotation from the New Testament—"Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things." Evidently the Democrats of the country at large have observed Governor Cleveland's conduct in his present office more closely than some of those near-by Republican editors who object that he has not had such experience as would qualify him for the duties of the Presidency. In truth, there is no office in this country more nearly analogous to the Presidency than that of Governor of this State, and no place where a man can be so well trained for Washington as at Albany, and this the whole people will in due time discover.

CLEVELAND ENDORSED BY THE INDEPENDENT REPUBLICANS.

The Independent Republicans of the United States held a conference on Tuesday, July 22, in the city of New York, which was a success far beyond the anticipations of the most sanguine of its promoters. It was a gathering representing the best elements of the party of Abraham Lincoln in

contradistinction to the party of Jim Blaine, Jack Logan and Steve Elkins. Over six hundred delegates were in attendance, and each one a representative of the best intellect and the strictest integrity of the Republican Party.

The chairman of the conference, Col. Charles R. Codman, sounded the keynote of the prevailing sentiment, when he said: "I do not hesitate to say, that the defeat of Mr. Blaine should be compassed by all honorable means. It seems to me that the cause of good government, of pure politics, of American character requires that he should be defeated. There is but one way to do it, and this way must be obvious to us all."

The one way was, to vote directly for the reform candidate (Governor Cleveland), and thus do the best to secure his success. The conference so decided, and embodied its views in an able and patriotic address.

Col. Codman spoke as follows on taking the chair:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: You have conferred a great honor on me in choosing me to preside over this conference, not of office-holders or office-seekers, but of citizens [cheers] desiring only the honor and welfare of the Republic. We are not here as party men, but as the representatives of that great body of citizens who desire to set aside for the time being the claims of party and to act together to achieve, if possible, results that will be for the highest good of the whole country. [Cheers.] The bond that unites us is a jealous sensitiveness for

the national character, and resentment at the attempt to lower it in the eyes of the world.

It would be, we hold, an unspeakable disgrace for us in the full knowledge of the facts and with our eyes open, to place in the Presidential chair a man with Mr. Blaine's standard of public morality.

We make no charges against private character, [applause], but hold that the public acts of Mr. Blaine, his attitude in relation to railroad legislation and all other legislation, his record when Speaker of the House of Representatives or when holding any legislative position with corporations asking for Congressional aid or in any way dependent on Congressional action, are fit and proper subjects for investigation and for comment.

Acting as we have for many years with the Republican Party, it is not without pain that we find ourselves forced to oppose its nominations. But we say that parties are but means to accomplish political ends: that they must stand for principles. We do not see that at the present time the two great parties which divide the country are clearly at issue on any great question. So that we are confined almost exclusively to the question of fitness of candidates. It is fortunate that this is so, for if the Democratic Party had nominated a man antagonistic to any of the great principles for which we have struggled, and the Republican Party had nominated Mr. Blaine, our position would have been much more painful than it is to-day. We should have been compelled to face the painful and discouraging alternative of not sustaining cherished political opinions, or of voting for a candidate we believe to be unworthy.

But happily all the great principles to maintain which the Republican Party was founded have been long since settled. It is true that Mr. Blaine in his skillful letter of acceptance [laughter] has at last expressed positive opinion on one subject. He has come out as an ardent friend of civil service reform [cheers and laughter] now that the country has declared for it; but in the days when the principle of civil service reform was struggling and weak it received no assistance from this once influential Republican leader.

But, gentlemen, we have not taken the action which brings us here to-day without remonstrances from our party associates. They have rung the changes on political allegiance; that the results of the war will be nullified; that labor will be paralyzed and capital destroyed if the Democratic Party should come into power, and they have told us that if Blaine is elected he will make the country respected in the eyes of foreign nations. To all such suggestions we have been impervious. [Cries of "Yes, Sir."] We reply that the constitutional interpretations settled by the war are not disputed; that the Democrats, who are at least half the people in the country, have no desire, and can have no interest, to check the national prosperity, and we say that the country is respected now throughout the world for its power, its energy, and its resources, and that it will so continue unless some aggressive and magnetic President succeeds in making it ridiculous. [Wild cheers and applause, the audience rising to its feet and waving hats and handkerchiefs in the air.]

There has not been much in such considerations as these to make us support an obnoxious candi-

date. But our party friends appeal to our sympathies. They ask us if we will indorse the Copiah outrage and support a party which carries its elections only by intimidation, I answer that we yield to none in our condemnation of these acts. But before all things we will be just, and not charge upon the whole South acts which belong to one or two small communities alone. Our Republican critics know, and know it as well as any men living, that these occurrences could not have been prevented by any action of the Federal Government. If they could why was there no interference at the last general election?

No, gentlemen: the truth is that time and education and the influences of Christianity must be relied upon to prevent these crimes. None can deny, and ought not to fail to recognize, that such occurrences as those at Copiah, once so common, are now exceptional. But, however that may be, we are not to be turned from our plain and obvious duty by appeals to sectional feeling or our sympathies. We do not give up our right to condemn outrages in the South any more than our right to condemn political dishonesty.

Let us declare that we stand together, and that we ask our fellow-citizens to join us, to make our protest effectual against Mr. Blaine's election. Let us try to impress upon the voters by our words and acts that political straightforwardness is better than political success, and when we have done our work here let us go to our homes and use such influence as we have to further the cause which we conceive to be the cause of our country. (Long-continued cheering.)

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1884.

HOW THE NOMINATION WAS RECEIVED—FAVORED BY THE
“INDEPENDENTS”—BREAKING OLD PARTY TIES—THE PRESS
GIVING SUPPORT—ORGANIZING FOR THE CAMPAIGN—PREPA-
RATIONS FOR A GIGANTIC STRUGGLE—APPROVAL OF THE
DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM—UPRISING AGAINST POLITICAL COR-
RUPTION—TRICKS AND SCANDALS—POPULARITY OF MR.
CLEVELAND’S COMPETITOR—THE QUESTION NOT CONFINED TO
MEN—PARTY ACCUSATIONS—FEELING RUNNING HIGH—FALSE-
HOOD AND VITUPERATION—DOUBT OF RESULT AS THE CAM-
PAIGN NEARED ITS CLOSE—SUSPENSE AFTER THE ELECTION—
ALL DEPENDING ON NEW YORK—CLEVELAND’S MAJORITY
AND ELECTION—SOME SIGNIFICANT FIGURES.

THE nomination of Cleveland and Hendricks was received with great favor by the Democratic Party throughout the whole country. From the Lakes to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Golden Gate, the air rang with acclamations. Public meetings, bonfires and booming guns ratified the work of the convention. Immediately there was the stir which tells of a lively presidential campaign.

As may be seen by the despatches of congratulation sent to Mr. Cleveland, his nomination was approved by many who had not before trained in the ranks of the Democratic Party. Men broke

away from their old political faith. The "independent" spirit showed itself at once. It was evident that the old party would remain solid and would receive new and valuable accessions. It requires some great impulse to break the cords that hold men to a party for which, through many years—years of excitement and conflict—they have worked and voted and struggled. Our national spirit and institutions are such as to make every man think and act upon his own private account. A true American is something more than a tool; he looks at questions with his own eyes; he holds the balances and does his own weighing; he treats his honest convictions with the respect all such convictions should receive; and in crises affecting his own and the public weal, he "appeals to Cæsar," and Cæsar is himself.

This was fully illustrated in the campaign following Mr. Cleveland's nomination. He stood at once in the front of a large array of men who were not displeased with an opportunity to show they were not the slaves of party. Many newspapers that had not formed a part of the political forces which Mr. Cleveland represented, now gave assent, and others came forward with enthusiastic support.

The work of organization began with great activity. Cities, villages, hamlets, four-corners, one might almost say, formed clubs, and prepared for the fight. There was no disposition to underestimate the gravity of the undertaking. A great

party had been in power for many years; it had all the glory of prestige and past success; its achievements had become a part of the nation's history; it sat in high places and did not mean to be dispossessed; it was manned by officers of singular ability, shrewdness and courage; its "Plumed Knight" who led the compact host was conspicuous for the magnetic power and resistless personal influence which move masses of men, and inspire them to action.

It was understood in the early part of the campaign that Mr. Cleveland would not "stump" the country, that he would make few speeches, that he would attend strictly to his duties at Albany, and would submit the case to the calm judgment and deliberate action of the American people.

The platform adopted by the Democratic Convention was quite as generally approved as were the nominations. One after another its solid planks were put in, and the wisest men believed the timber was good. A special point was made of civil service reform, for there was a wide-spread conviction that such reform was imperatively demanded. Good men and true had long tried to amend the methods by which the affairs of the administration at Washington were conducted. Political corruption was charged by those who could have had no selfish interest in framing so grave an indictment, no personal wish to gratify, no political end to gain. This unrest arising from what were openly

charged as corrupt practices, permitted for the benefit of time servers and politicians who fattened on the spoils of office, had much to do with the overturning of the machine which had been running without interruption or check for nearly a quarter of a century. It was said that the Independent Republicans, who broke away from "the grand old party," were "political sore-heads," that they were chronic growlers, self-opinionated, Democrats at heart, traitors to their own organization, and foes of the nation. Yet free action continued, new combinations of men and ideas sprang up, and as Napoleon, marching with his army, marked new boundaries for empires, so the map of politics was readjusted.

With so much of the independent spirit abroad, with such an uprising of the Democracy as was kindled by the hope of success, it may easily be seen that all the forces were at work to bring about a very lively campaign. The heat rose with the advancing months. Every presidential election in our country is a spectacle peculiarly impressive. The great heart of the nation is stirred. A tremor is in the very air, a something which tells that vital questions are at issue. Fifty millions of people awakened, swept by great waves of sentiment and feeling as gales move the sea—this is morally sublime. The two parties faced each other in battle array. If drums, horns, banners, processions, speeches, barbecues, shouts, floods of

political documents, loud talk, could have won the day, it would have been difficult to say which side was to be successful, but other elements entered into that campaign, and insured Mr. Cleveland's election.

Of course, during the progress of those exciting days party tricks were called into play, one scandal was swept from the air only to be succeeded by another, the most astounding statements were trumpeted as if they were unchallenged truths, lower and lower sank the press in the agonizing effort to defeat the foe; in short all the trickery, falsifying, and swelling pretension which unfortunately come out in periods of great political excitement, characterized the busy summer and autumn of 1884.

For a long time it was asserted that Mr. Blaine was sure to be elected. He was immensely popular with the Republicans. He strode the field with majestic tread. He was able to command a large personal following, and he had the dash and magnetism which always arouse enthusiasm. His brain was fertile and his tongue was ready. He went from point to point in his electioneering tours, and addressed vast assemblages of people. He had proved his brilliant capacities on many occasions. Under the dome of the Capitol he had held the Speaker's gavel in one house of Congress, and had occupied a seat in the other. He had been selected by President Garfield to fill the most responsible

position in his Cabinet. For courage, readiness, eloquence, magnificent leadership, he stood unrivalled.

Mr. Blaine was not a weak antagonist, but the question was not merely as to men. For solid qualities, bold action, the courage that knows how to do right, fidelity to duty, Mr. Cleveland stood second to no one. His election was a greater victory from the fact that he had such a brilliant statesman and formidable party to contend with. As the campaign approached its termination the fever grew intense. Desperate measures were brought into requisition. Men made damaging statements, and swore to them. High Heaven was appealed to that the people might be convinced. Affidavits crammed the newspapers. It was judged to be all important that the personal character of Governor Cleveland should be darkened. As usual in the excitement preceding a national election, serious charges were made, and supported by long arrays of proofs. These attacks upon Mr. Cleveland were boldly denied, notwithstanding the positiveness with which they had been made. In the heat of partisanship some men maintained that the private life of a nominee for any office was not public property, and no one had a right to uncover it.

We state these things as simple matters of history. It is only needful to remember that much said during a political campaign should be

taken with marked degrees of allowance. This is a good rule to observe, and has more justice in it than the disposition to believe everything that is damaging to an opponent. There is always a suspicious number of lies and exaggerations afloat during a political canvass. When you get at the real truth, instead of "three black crows," it was only "something as black as a crow."

The last days of the campaign were clouded with doubt. Each party was confident of success, or at least expressed itself so. There was a mist which darkened vision. No one could foresee how the election would go. New York, the pivotal State, was an uncertain quantity. It was Mr. Cleveland's native State; his strength when elected Governor had surprised even his friends; his wise silence during the campaign and strict attention to duty had not lost him any degree of favor, and while it was understood that he could not hope to receive anything like the majority that elevated him to the chair of Governor, it was hoped he would run ahead of the Republican ticket.

The day of destiny in November came and passed. The next morning the country was in as much doubt as before; no one knew how the struggle had terminated. The Republicans boldly claimed a victory. Soon congratulations poured in upon "the man from Maine." It began to look as if the man at Albany were the one who should receive the congratulations. A state of uncer-

tainty reigned, and on every hand there were alternations of hope and disappointment. Processions parading the streets to celebrate the triumph of one party met processions celebrating the triumph of the other.

Finally people said, "Let us wait for the official count." It was known how nearly every State had gone except New York. There was a suspense that was intense, but the general sentiment of the country called for an honest decision, and showed a determination to abide by it. What the ballot-box had to say was eagerly awaited. That held the important secret. The nation had signed and sealed its reverseless decree. In some old countries, infested with revolutionary elements, such days of waiting would have been days of danger, but in the United States majorities rule, and the only concern is to ascertain the majority and learn what is the actual verdict.

At length the verdict came. New York had settled the gigantic contest by the meagre majority of 1,149. If it had been so many thousands instead of units the decision would not have been more definite, nor the result more sure. Grover Cleveland was elected to the presidency of the United States, and the great party with its splendid organization, its honored names, its vast patronage, its powerful sway extending over a period of twenty-four years, which had ruled through war and peace, was to resign its trust. The perturbed elements

grew quiet. The Democrats, who had clung to their old-time principles and traditions, and through so many defeats had kept their faith, saw at last the end of their struggle and the consummation of their hopes. Their chosen leader had more than vindicated the confidence placed in him. The verdict at the polls meant that all the old safeguards of constitutional law and liberty were to be preserved, that sectional strife was to cease, that official trust was to be used for the people and the people alone, that the civil service was to be elevated and purified, that the administration of public affairs was to be in new hands pledged to unflinching honesty. The feeling that no party can be in power long without becoming more or less corrupt found satisfaction in the fact that the government was to be administered under new auspices. It was believed that the country would live and prosper.

CHAPTER IX.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S INAUGURATION.

IMPOSING CEREMONIES—PROFOUND INTEREST IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION—LARGE GATHERING AT THE CAPITAL—ALL CLASSES REPRESENTED—FINE CIVIC DISPLAY—BEAUTIFUL EMBLEMS—SUPERB FLORAL LADDER—INAUGURAL ADDRESS—A GREAT AND SACRED TRUST—NO APOLOGY NEEDED FOR DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES—SECTIONAL PREJUDICE SHOULD BE ABANDONED—DEVOTION TO THE CONSTITUTION—PUBLIC SERVANTS TO BE VIGILANTLY WATCHED—EXPENDITURES TO BE LIMITED—NO DEPARTURE FROM ESTABLISHED FOREIGN POLICY—FINANCES TO BE PLACED ON A SOUND BASIS—THE INDIANS—FREEDMEN—CIVIL SERVICE—FORMATION OF THE NEW CABINET.

THE ceremonies attending the inauguration of President are always impressive. The will of the people has been expressed. Every township in the land has declared its choice. From myriad homes and firesides men have gone forth, clothed with the sovereign power of the franchise. Silently the great decision has been made, amidst suppressed excitement, and the result has agitated the nation.

Naturally the departure of the Republican administration and the return of the Democratic Party to power after so many years of exile from the highest seats in the Councils of the Republic

awakened a profound interest. As the 4th of March, 1885, approached, eyes were turned toward Washington, and multitudes went up to the Capital as to a Mecca. There was the old sturdy voter who had stood for half a century in his faith, never swerving, never denying his record, never yielding to the seductive persuasions of the opposite side. There was the old wire-puller, the man who makes a business of politics, and who, if he does not obtain office, goes right on trying to get it, just the same. There was the tried statesman, the man of affairs, with brain to grasp the situation, genius to plan, and courage to execute. There was the man who had been hungry for office, and now saw, as he thought, a grand chance to grasp the dear prize. There was the gifted woman, able to grace any drawing-room, any public occasion. All wended their way to the Capital, and their name was legion. From all parts of our vast country they came, and every face wore an expression of satisfaction and beamed with expectation. Washington itself, accustomed to civic displays, exciting events, and magnificent parades, was more than usually awakened, and an interest was exhibited in the inauguration which overshadowed all other concerns. The representatives of the press throughout the country were there in full force, to record the great events, and depict the scene in its imposing aspects.

Mr. Cleveland's nomination and election to the first office in the gift of the American people was

a sequence illustrative of the elementary principles of our Republic and a vindication of its durability. The ceremonies incident upon the inauguration presented a pageant exceeding in civic and civil display any such preceding occasion in the history of the government. There were in attendance more than one hundred thousand visitors, and the city in its profuse decorations was a bewildering maze of bright colors. Among the significant allegorical designs was a great floral ladder reaching to the roof of a business house on Pennsylvania Avenue, which bore upon its rungs the words, "Sheriff," "Mayor," "Governor," "President," thus graphically symbolizing the life-work of the President-elect.

The inaugural of President Cleveland is marked by singular dignity and simplicity. Its force and significance lie in the individuality of its author. A conviction is enforced that he is "of the people and for the people," the common good being his paramount inspiration. It was as follows :

"Fellow-Citizens :

"In the presence of this vast assemblage of my countrymen I am about to supplement and seal by the oath which I shall take the manifestation of the will of a great and free people. In the exercise of their power and right of self-government they have committed to one of their fellow-citizens a supreme and sacred trust, and he here consecrates himself to their service.

“This impressive ceremony adds little to the solemn sense of responsibility with which I contemplate the duty I owe to all the people of the land. Nothing can relieve me from anxiety lest by any act of mine their interests may suffer, and nothing is needed to strengthen my resolution to engage every faculty and effort in the promotion of their welfare.

“Amid the din of party strife the people’s choice was made, but its attendant circumstances have demonstrated anew the strength and safety of a government by the people. In each succeeding year it more clearly appears that our democratic principle needs no apology, and that in its fearless and faithful application is to be found the surest guaranty of good government. But the best results in the operation of a government, wherein every citizen has a share, largely depend upon a proper limitation of purely partisan zeal and effort and a correct appreciation of the time when the heat of the partisan should be merged in the patriotism of the citizen.

“To-day the executive branch of the government is transferred to new keeping. But this is still the government of all the people, and it should be none the less an object of affectionate solicitude. At this hour the animosities of political strife, the bitterness of partisan defeat and the exultation of partisan triumph should be supplanted by an ungrudging acquiescence in the popular will and a sober, conscientious concern for the general weal. Moreover, if from this hour we cheerfully and honestly abandon all sectional prejudice and distrust and determine, with manly confidence in one another, to work out harmoniously the achieve-

ments of our national destiny, we shall deserve to realize all the benefits which our happy form of government can bestow.

“On this auspicious occasion we may well renew the pledge of our devotion to the Constitution, which, launched by the founders of the Republic and consecrated by their prayers and patriotic devotion, has for almost a century borne the hopes and the aspirations of a great people through prosperity and peace and through the shock of foreign conflicts and the perils of domestic strife and vicissitudes. By the Father of his Country our Constitution was commended for adoption as ‘the result of a spirit of amity and mutual concession.’ In that same spirit it should be administered, in order to promote the lasting welfare of the country and to secure the full measure of its priceless benefits to us and to those who will succeed to the blessings of our national life. The large variety of diverse and competing interests subject to Federal control, persistently seeking the recognition of their claims, need give us no fear that ‘the greatest good to the greatest number’ will fail to be accomplished if, in the halls of national legislation, that spirit of amity and mutual concession shall prevail in which the Constitution had its birth. If this involves the surrender or postponement of private interests and the abandonment of local advantages, compensation will be found in the assurance that thus the common interest is subserved and the general welfare advanced.

“In the discharge of my official duty I shall endeavor to be guided by a just and unstrained construction of the Constitution, a careful observance of the distinction between the powers

granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States or to the people, and by a cautious appreciation of those functions which, by the Constitution and laws, have been especially assigned to the Executive branch of the government.

“But he who takes the oath to-day to preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States only assumes the solemn obligation which every patriotic citizen, on the farm, in the workshop, in the busy marts of trade and everywhere, should share with him. The Constitution which prescribes his oath, my countrymen, is yours; the government you have chosen him to administer for a time is yours; the suffrage which executes the will of freemen is yours; the laws and the entire scheme of our civil rule, from the town meeting to the State Capitols and the National Capitol, are yours. Your every voter, as surely as your Chief Magistrate, under the same high sanction, though in a different sphere, exercises a public trust. Not is this all. Every citizen owes to the country a vigilant watch and close scrutiny of its public servants and a fair and reasonable estimate of their fidelity and usefulness. Thus is the people’s will impressed upon the whole framework of our civil polity—municipal, State and Federal—and this is the price of our liberty and the inspiration of our faith in the Republic.

“It is the duty of those serving the people in public place to closely limit public expenditures to the actual needs of the government, economically administered, because this bounds the right of the government to exact tribute from the earnings of labor or the property of the citizen, and because

public extravagance begets extravagance among the people. We should never be ashamed of the simplicity and prudential economies which are best suited to the operation of a republican form of government and most compatible with the mission of the American people. Those who are selected for a limited time to manage public affairs are still of the people, and may do much by their example to encourage, consistently with the dignity of their official functions, that plain way of life which among their fellow-citizens aids integrity and promotes thrift and prosperity.

“The genius of our institutions, the needs of our people in their home life, and the attention which is demanded for the settlement and development of the resources of our vast territory, dictate the scrupulous avoidance of any departure from that foreign policy commended by the history, the traditions and the prosperity of our Republic. It is the policy of independence, favored by our position and defended by our known love of justice and by our power. It is the policy of peace, suitable to our interests. It is the policy of neutrality, rejecting any share in foreign broils and ambitions upon other continents, and repelling their intrusion here. It is the policy of Monroe and of Washington and Jefferson: ‘Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none.’

“A due regard for the interests and prosperity of all the people demand that our finances shall be established upon such a sound and sensible basis as shall secure the safety and confidence of business interests and make the wage of labor sure and steady, and that our system of revenue shall be so

adjusted as to relieve the people from unnecessary taxation, having a due regard to the interests of capital invested and workingmen employed in American industries, and preventing the accumulation of a surplus in the treasury to tempt extravagance and waste. Care for the property of the nation and for the needs of future settlers requires that the public domain should be protected from purloining schemes and unlawful occupation.

“The conscience of the people demands that the Indians within our boundaries shall be fairly and honestly treated as wards of the government, and their education and civilization promoted, with a view to their ultimate citizenship; and that polygamy in the Territories, destructive of the family relation and offensive to the moral sense of the civilized world, shall be repressed. The laws should be rigidly enforced which prohibit the immigration of a servile class to compete with American labor, with no intention of acquiring citizenship, and bringing with them and retaining habits and customs repugnant to our civilization.

“The people demand reform in the administration of the government and the application of business principles to public affairs. As a means to this end civil service reform should be in good faith enforced. Our citizens have the right to protection from the incompetency of public employes who hold their places solely as the reward of partisan service, and from the corrupting influence of those who promise and the vicious methods of those who expect such rewards. And those who worthily seek public employment have the right to insist that merit and competency shall be recognized in-

stead of party subserviency or the surrender of honest political belief.

“In the administration of a government pledged to do equal and exact justice to all men there should be no pretext for anxiety touching the protection of the freedmen in their rights or their security in the enjoyment of their privileges under the Constitution and its amendments. All discussion as to their fitness for the place accorded to them as American citizens is idle and unprofitable, except as it suggests the necessity for their improvement. The fact that they are citizens entitles them to all the rights due to that relation and charges them with all its duties, obligations and responsibilities.

“These topics and the constant and ever-varying wants of an active and enterprising population may well receive the attention and the patriotic endeavor of all who make and execute the Federal law. Our duties are practical and call for industrious application, an intelligent perception of the claims of public office, and, above all, a firm determination, by united action, to secure to all the people of the land the full benefits of the best form of government ever vouchsafed to man. And let us not trust to human effort alone, but humbly acknowledging the power and goodness of Almighty God, who presides over the destiny of nations and who has at all times been revealed in our country's history, let us invoke His aid and His blessing upon our labors.”

THE NEW CABINET.

In the selection of his Cabinet President Cleveland, it is felt, was actuated by just considerations

of capacity and geographical distribution. The ability and eminent fitness for their positions of several of its members are patent.

The Cabinet was composed as follows: Thomas Francis Bayard, of Delaware, Secretary of State; Daniel Manning, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Interior; Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas, Attorney-General; William Crowninshield Endicott, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War; William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, Postmaster-General; William Collins Whitney, of New York, Secretary of the Navy.

CHAPTER X.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

A POSITIVE CHARACTER AT THE WHITE HOUSE—AN EYE TO THE PUBLIC GOOD—THE PRESIDENT'S MARRIAGE—MRS. CLEVELAND'S POPULAR QUALITIES—TARIFF QUESTION—LAST MESSAGE—PUBLIC TREASURY ENDANGERED—WHAT SHALL BE DONE WITH THE SURPLUS—RESTORING MONEY TO THE PEOPLE—PURCHASING BONDS—PRIVATE BUSINESS AND PUBLIC FUNDS—SCHEME OF TAXATION—BAD TARIFF LAWS—PRESERVING MANUFACTURES—WORKINGMEN AND THEIR INTERESTS—WAGES AND PRICES—THE REAL ISSUE—THE FARMERS AND THEIR FARMS—TAX ON WOOL—VICIOUS COMBINATIONS—A DIFFICULT WORK—A QUESTION ABOVE PARTISAN FEELING—HOW THE MESSAGE WAS RECEIVED BY THE COUNTRY.

MR. CLEVELAND entered courageously upon the duties of his office. He showed at once his remarkable power of rising to every occasion, and proved his ability to meet every reasonable expectation. It was soon evident that a man, not a party tool, was installed at the White House. In the difficult undertaking of forming a Cabinet, and appointing the various Government officers, his cool judgment and wise discretion were conspicuous. He had no hope of pleasing everybody; his work would have been a failure if he had done it. He meant to serve the interests of his country, and do what was right.

Up to the second year of his administration President Cleveland had lived the life of a bachelor. He had not found the time to marry, even if he had possessed the disposition. His faithful sister, Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, accompanied him to the White House, and presided there with graceful dignity. It began to be rumored, however, that the President intended to complete the agencies for a successful administration by taking a wife. The busybodies had a grand opportunity; they were in great luck. More and more the rumor gained currency, newspaper correspondents nursed it, the country breakfasted on it every morning. Washington society was in a flutter.

On the 2d of June, 1886, President Cleveland was married at the White House to Miss Frances Folsom of Buffalo, Rev. Byron Sunderland, D. D., pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Washington, performing the ceremony.

Mrs. Cleveland has filled her high station with marked success, and has endeared herself to all who have had the pleasure of making her acquaintance. Although young, she is womanly, and appears to be endowed with a ripeness much beyond her years. It is universally conceded that she possesses every needed qualification for presiding over the Executive Mansion.

As was to be expected, the tariff question has occupied a large share of the attention of Congress since 1884. While President Cleveland in his

messages has dealt with a number of important matters, his utterances on the tariff and financial affairs of the country have attracted universal attention. His last message was so bold, clear and weighty that we present it entire, considering that we cannot render a more signal service to the reader.

MESSAGE AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FIFTIETH
CONGRESS, DECEMBER, 1887.

"To the Congress of the United States:

"You are confronted at the threshold of your legislative duties with a condition of the national finances which imperatively demands immediate and careful consideration.

"The amount of money annually exacted, through the operation of present laws, from the industries and necessities of the people, largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet the expenses of the Government.

"When we consider that the theory of our institutions guarantees to every citizen the full enjoyment of all the fruits of his industry and enterprise, with only such deduction as may be his share towards the careful and economical maintenance of the Government which protects him, it is plain that the exaction of more than this is indefensible extortion, and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice. This wrong inflicted upon those who bear the burden of national taxation, like other wrongs, multiplies a brood of evil consequences. The public treasury, which should only exist as a conduit conveying the people's trib-

ute to its legitimate objects of expenditure, becomes a hoarding-place for money needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use, thus crippling our national energies, suspending our country's development, preventing investment in productive enterprise, threatening financial disturbance, and inviting schemes of public plunder.

DANGERS THREATENING THE PUBLIC TREASURY.

“This condition of our treasury is not altogether new; and it has more than once of late been submitted to the people's representatives in the Congress, who alone can apply a remedy. And yet the situation still continues, with aggravated incidents, more than ever presaging financial convulsion and wide-spread disaster.

“It will not do to neglect this situation because its dangers are not now palpably imminent and apparent. They exist none the less certainly, and await the unforeseen and unexpected occasion when suddenly they will be precipitated upon us.

“On the 30th day of June, 1885, the excess of revenues over public expenditures, after complying with the annual requirement of the sinking-fund act, was \$17,859,735.84; during the year ended June 30, 1886, such excess amounted to \$49,405,545.20; and during the year ended June 30, 1887, it reached the sum of \$55,567,849.54.

“The annual contributions to the sinking-fund during the three years above specified, amounting in the aggregate to \$138,058,320.94, and deducted from the surplus as stated, were made by calling in for that purpose outstanding three per cent. bonds of the Government. During the six months prior to June 30, 1887, the surplus revenue had

grown so large by repeated accumulations, and it was feared the withdrawal of this great sum of money needed by the people would so affect the business of the country, that the sum of \$79,864,-100 of such surplus was applied to the payment of the principal and interest of the three per cent. bonds still outstanding, and which were then payable at the option of the Government. The precarious condition of financial affairs among the people still needing relief, immediately after the 30th day of June, 1887, the remainder of the three per cent. bonds then outstanding, amounting with principal and interest to the sum of \$18,877,-500, were called in and applied to the sinking-fund contribution for the current fiscal year. Notwithstanding these operations of the Treasury Department representations of distress in business circles not only continued, but increased, and absolute peril seemed at hand. In these circumstances the contribution to the sinking-fund for the current fiscal year was at once completed by the expenditure of \$27,684,283.55 in the purchase of Government bonds not yet due bearing four and four and a half per cent. interest, the premium paid thereon averaging about twenty-four per cent. for the former and eight per cent. for the latter. In addition to this the interest accruing during the current year upon the outstanding bonded indebtedness of the Government was to some extent anticipated, and banks selected as depositories of public money were permitted to somewhat increase their deposits.

SURPLUS REVENUE.

“While the expedients thus employed, to release to the people the money lying idle in the treasury,

served to avert immediate danger, our surplus revenues have continued to accumulate, the excess for the present year amounting on the 1st day of December to \$55,258,701.19, and estimated to reach the sum of \$113,000,000 on the 30th of June next, at which date it is expected that this sum, added to prior accumulations, will swell the surplus in the treasury to \$140,000,000.

“There seems to be no assurance that, with such a withdrawal from use of the people’s circulating medium, our business community may not in the near future be subjected to the same distress which was quite lately produced from the same cause. And while the functions of our National Treasury should be few and simple, and while its best condition would be reached, I believe, by its entire disconnection with private business interests, yet when, by a perversion of its purposes, it idly holds money uselessly subtracted from the channels of trade, there seems to be reason for the claim that some legitimate means should be devised by the Government to restore in an emergency, without waste or extravagance, such money to its place among the people.

“If such an emergency arises there now exists no clear and undoubted executive power of relief. Heretofore the redemption of three per cent. bonds, which were payable at the option of the Government, has afforded a means for the disbursement of the excess of our revenues; but these bonds have all been retired, and there are no bonds outstanding the payment of which we have the right to insist upon. The contribution to the sinking-fund which furnishes the occasion for expenditure in the purchase of bonds has been already made

for the current year. so that there is no outlet in that direction.

HOW THE SURPLUS IS TO BE RESTORED TO THE
PEOPLE.

“In the present state of legislation the only pretence of any existing executive power to restore, at this time, any part of our surplus revenues to the people by its expenditure, consists in the supposition that the Secretary of the Treasury may enter the market and purchase the bonds of the Government not yet due, at a rate of premium to be agreed upon. The only provision of law from which such a power could be derived is found in an appropriation bill passed a number of years ago; and it is subject to the suspicion that it was intended as temporary and limited in its application, instead of conferring a continuing discretion and authority. No condition ought to exist which would justify the grant of power to a single official, upon his judgment of its necessity, to withhold from or release to the business of the people, in an unusual manner, money held in the treasury, and thus affect, at his will, the financial situation of the country; and if it is deemed wise to lodge in the Secretary of the Treasury the authority in the present juncture to purchase bonds, it should be plainly vested, and provided as far as possible, with such checks and limitations as will define this official's right and discretion, and at the same time relieve him from undue responsibility.

“In considering the question of purchasing bonds as a means of restoring to circulation the surplus money accumulating in the treasury, it

should be borne in mind that premiums must of course be paid upon such purchase, that there may be a large part of these bonds held as investments which cannot be purchased at any price, and that combinations among holders who are willing to sell may unreasonably enhance the cost of such bonds to the Government.

“It has been suggested that the present bonded debt might be refunded at a less rate of interest, and the difference between the old and new security paid in cash, thus finding use for the surplus in the Treasury. The success of this plan, it is apparent, must depend upon the volition of the holders of the present bonds; and it is not entirely certain that the inducement which must be offered them would result in more financial benefit to the Government than the purchase of bonds, while the latter proposition would reduce the principal of the debt by actual payment, instead of extending it.

OBJECTIONABLE PROPOSITION.

“The proposition to deposit the money held by the Government in banks throughout the country, for use by the people, is, it seems to me, exceedingly objectionable in principle, as establishing too close a relationship between the operations of the Government Treasury and the business of the country, and too extensive a commingling of their money, thus fostering an unnatural reliance in private business upon public funds. If this scheme should be adopted it should only be done as a temporary expedient to meet an urgent necessity. Legislative and executive effort should generally be in the opposite direction and should have a

tendency to divorce, as much and as fast as can safely be done, the Treasury Department from private enterprise.

“Of course it is not expected that unnecessary and extravagant appropriations will be made for the purpose of avoiding the accumulation of an excess of revenue. Such expenditure, beside the demoralization of all just conceptions of public duty which it entails, stimulates a habit of reckless improvidence not in the least consistent with the mission of our people or the high and beneficent purposes of our Government.

“I have deemed it my duty to thus bring to the knowledge of my countrymen, as well as to the attention of their representatives charged with the responsibility of legislative relief, the gravity of our financial situation. The failure of the Congress heretofore to provide against the dangers which it was quite evident the very nature of the difficulty must necessarily produce, caused a condition of financial distress and apprehension since your last adjournment, which taxed to the utmost all the authority and expedients within executive control; and these appear now to be exhausted. If disaster results from the continued inaction of Congress, the responsibility must rest where it belongs.

SCHEME OF TAXATION.

“Though the situation thus far considered is fraught with danger which should be fully realized, and though it presents features of wrong to the people as well as peril to the country, it is but a result growing out of a perfectly palpable and apparent cause, constantly reproducing the same

alarming circumstances—a congested national treasury and a depleted monetary condition in the business of the country. It need hardly be stated that while the present situation demands a remedy, we can only be saved from a like predicament in the future by the removal of its cause.

“Our scheme of taxation, by means of which this needless surplus is taken from the people and put into the public treasury, consists of a tariff or duty levied upon importations from abroad, and internal revenue taxes levied upon the consumption of tobacco and spirituous and malt liquors. It must be conceded that none of the things subjected to internal revenue taxation are, strictly speaking, necessities; there appears to be no just complaint of this taxation by the consumers of these articles, and there seems to be nothing so well able to bear the burden without hardship to any portion of the people.

VICIOUS TARIFF LAWS.

“But our present tariff laws, the vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation, ought to be at once revised and amended. These laws, as their primary and plain effect, raise the price to consumers of all articles imported and subject to duty, by precisely the sum paid for such duties. Thus the amount of the duty measures the tax paid by those who purchase for use these imported articles. Many of these things, however, are raised or manufactured in our own country, and the duties now levied upon foreign goods and products are called protection to these home manufactures, because they render it possible for those of our people who are manufacturers to make these

taxed articles and sell them for a price equal to that demanded for the imported goods that have paid customs duty. So it happens that while comparatively a few use the imported articles, millions of our people, who never use and never saw any of the foreign products, purchase and use things of the same kind made in this country, and pay therefor nearly or quite the same enhanced price which the duty adds to the imported articles. Those who buy imports pay the duty charged thereon into the public treasury, but the great majority of our citizens, who buy domestic articles of the same class, pay a sum at least approximately equal to this duty to the home manufacturer. This reference to the operation of our tariff laws is not made by way of instruction, but in order that we may be constantly reminded of the manner in which they impose a burden upon those who consume domestic products as well as those who consume imported articles, and thus create a tax upon all our people.

OUR MANUFACTURING INTERESTS MUST BE PRESERVED.

“It is not proposed to entirely relieve the country of this taxation. It must be extensively continued as the source of the Government’s income; and in a readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered, as well as the preservation of our manufacturers. It may be called protection, or by any other name, but relief from the hardships and dangers of our present tariff laws, should be devised with especial precaution against imperiling the existence of our manufacturing interests. But this existence should not mean a condition which,

without regard to the public welfare or a national exigency, must always insure the realization of immense profits instead of moderately profitable returns. As the volume and diversity of our national activities increase, new recruits are added to those who desire a continuation of the advantages which they conceive the present system of tariff taxation directly affords them. So stubbornly have all efforts to reform the present condition been resisted by those of our fellow-citizens thus engaged, that they can hardly complain of the suspicion, entertained to a certain extent, that there exists an organized combination all along the line to maintain their advantage.

“We are in the midst of centennial celebrations, and with becoming pride we rejoice in American skill and ingenuity, in American energy and enterprise, and in the wonderful natural advantages and resources developed by a century’s national growth. Yet when an attempt is made to justify a scheme which permits a tax to be laid upon every consumer in the land for the benefit of our manufacturers, quite beyond a reasonable demand for governmental regard, it suits the purposes of advocacy to call our manufactures infant industries, still needing the highest and greatest degree of favor and fostering care that can be wrung from Federal legislation.

WELFARE OF OUR WORKINGMEN.

“It is also said that the increase in the price of domestic manufactures resulting from the present tariff is necessary in order that higher wages may be paid to our workingmen employed in manufactories, than are paid for what is called the pauper labor of Europe. All will acknowledge the force

of an argument which involves the welfare and liberal compensation of our laboring people. Our labor is honorable in the eyes of every American citizen; and as it lies at the foundation of our development and progress, it is entitled, without affectation or hypocrisy, to the utmost regard. The standard of our laborers' life should not be measured by that of any other country less favored, and they are entitled to their full share of all our advantages.

"By the last census it is made to appear that of the 17,392,099 of our population engaged in all kinds of industries 7,670,493 are employed in agriculture, 4,074,238 in professional and personal service (2,934,876 of whom are domestic servants and laborers,) while 1,810,256 are employed in trade and transportation, and 3,837,112 are classed as employed in manufacturing and mining.

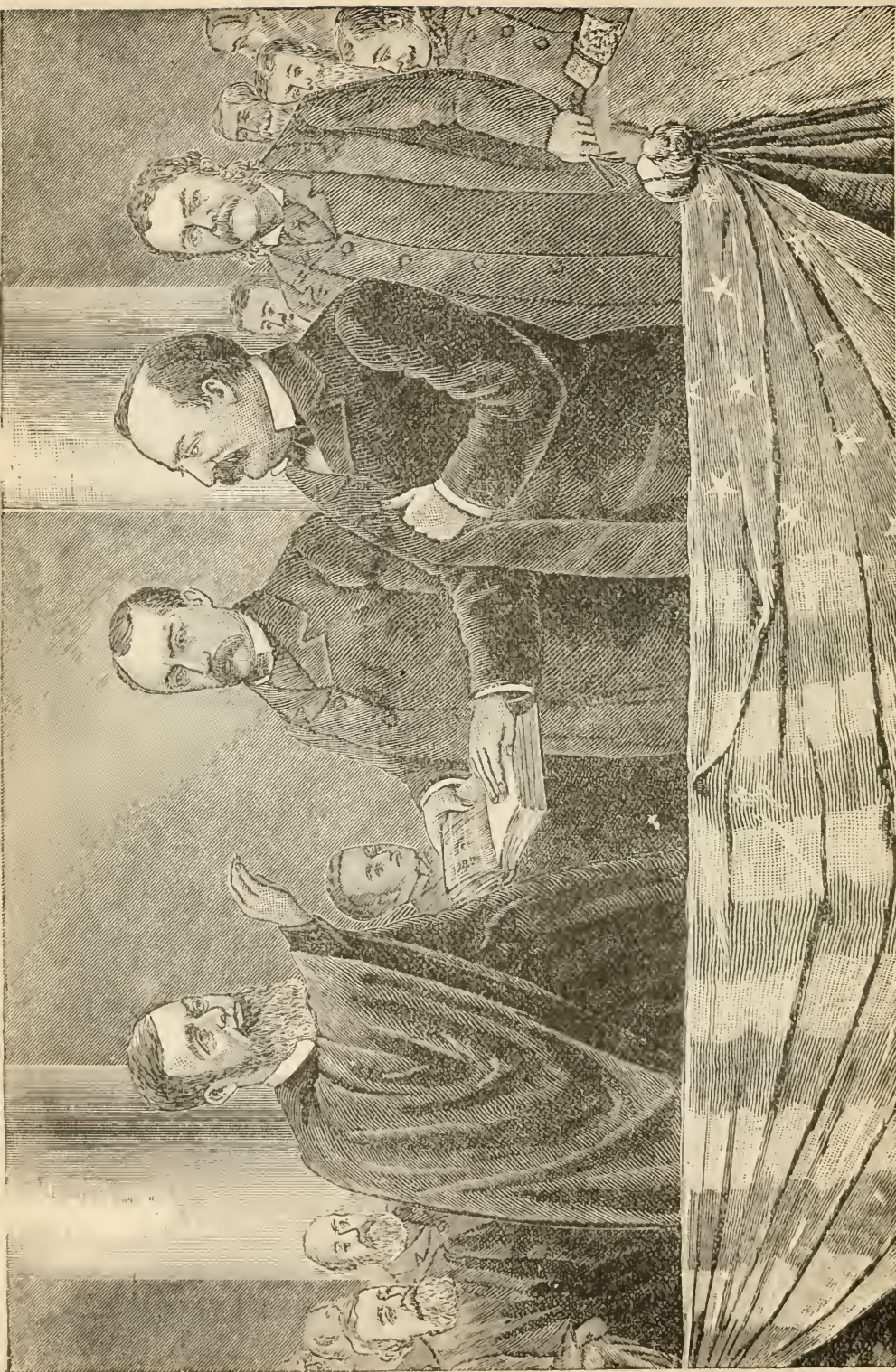
"For present purposes, however, the last number given should be considerably reduced. Without attempting to enumerate all, it will be conceded that there should be deducted from those which it includes 375,143 carpenters and joiners, 285,401 milliners, dressmakers and seamstresses, 172,726 blacksmiths, 133,756 tailors and tailoresses, 102,473 masons, 76,241 butchers, 41,309 bakers, 22,083 plasterers, and 4,891 engaged in manufacturing agricultural implements, amounting in the aggregate to 1,214,023, leaving 2,623,089 persons employed in such manufacturing industries as are claimed to be benefited by a high tariff.

THE REAL ISSUE SHOULD NOT BE BEFOGGED.

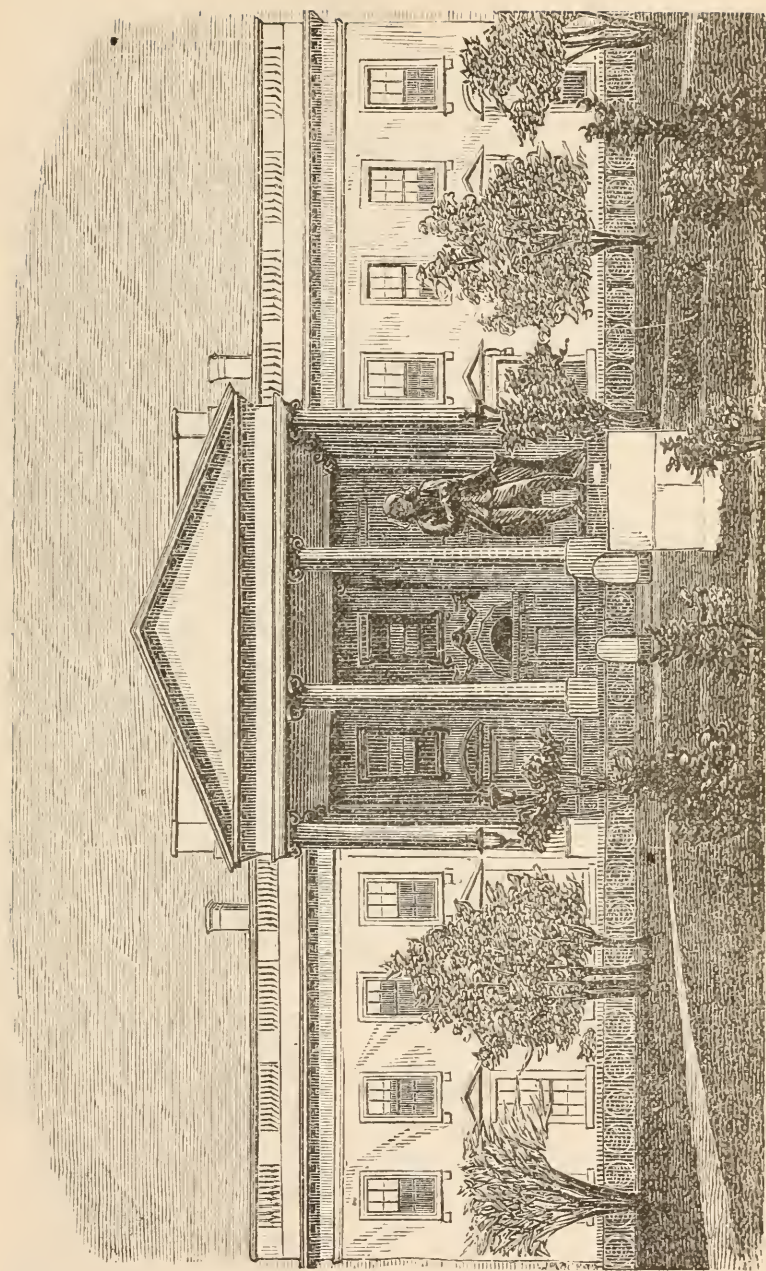
"To these the appeal is made to save their employment and maintain their wages by resisting



ALLEN G. THURMAN!



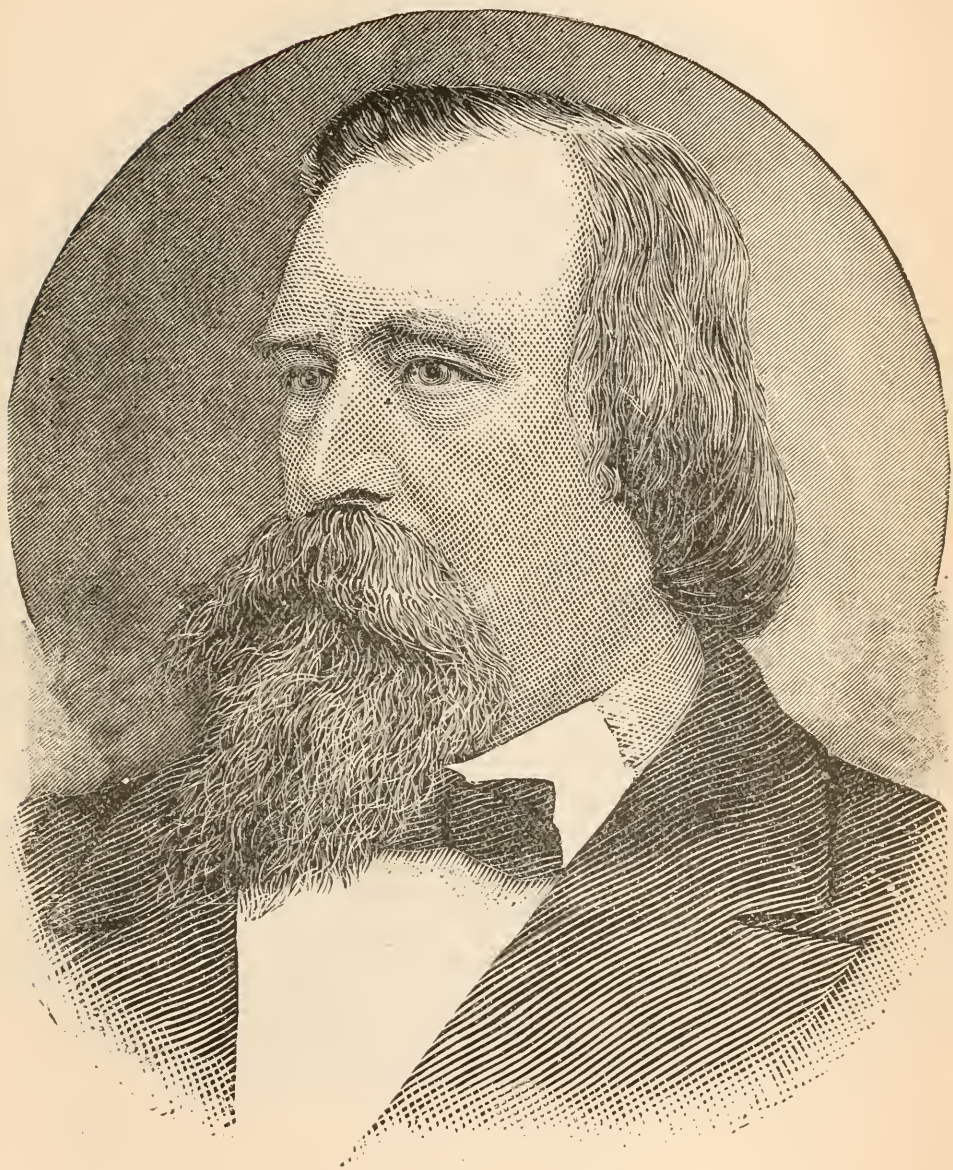
CHIEF-JUSTICE WAITE ADMINISTERING THE OATH OF OFFICE TO PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.



THE WHITE HOUSE, THE RESIDENCE OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.



CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, THE SCENE OF VICE-PRESIDENT THURMAN'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS AS A STATESMAN



L. Q. C. LAMAR.



THOMAS F. BAYARD.



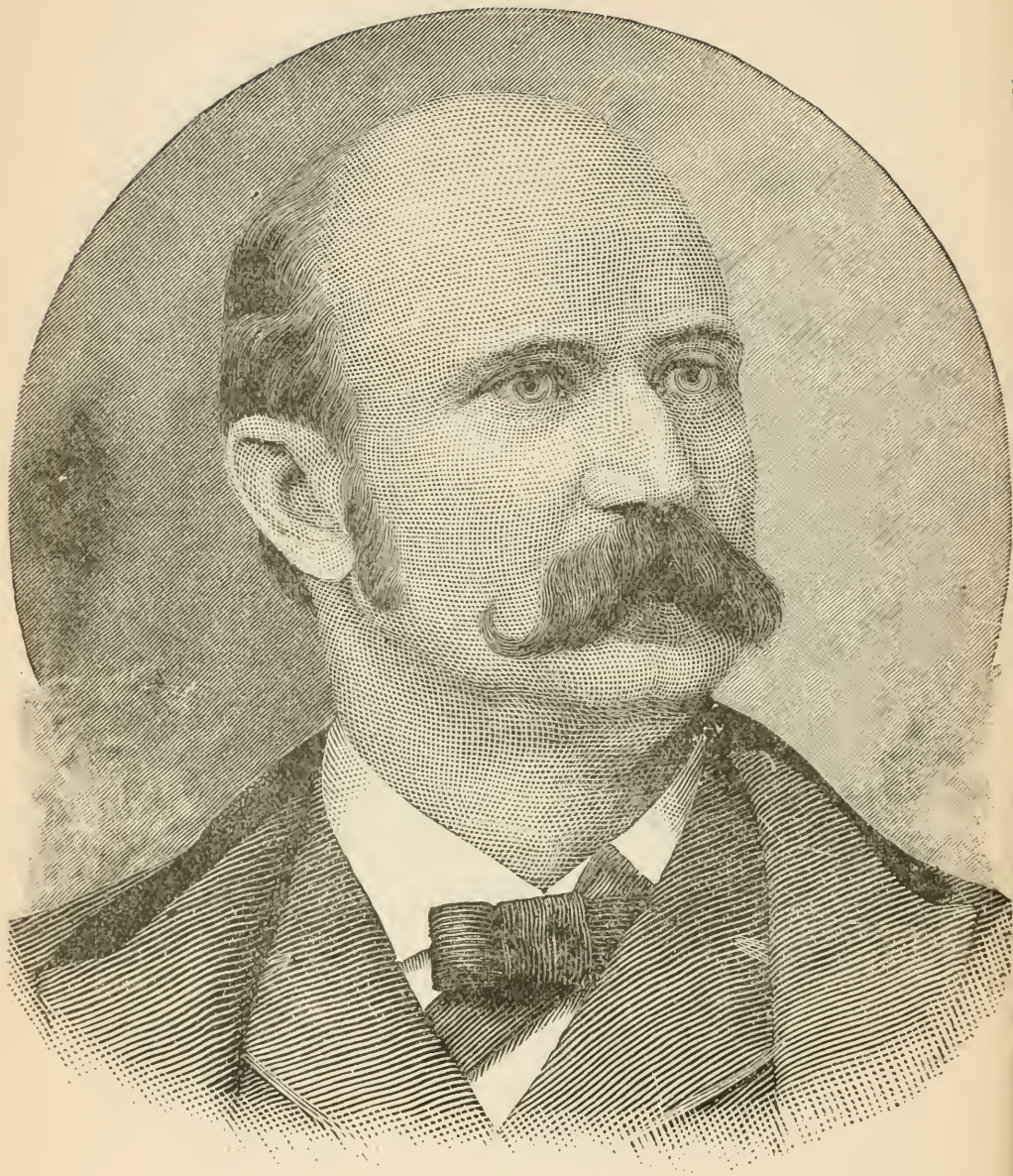
WILLIAM F. VILAS.



DANIEL W. VOORHEES.



ISAAC P. GRAY.



DAVID B. HILL.



WILLIAM L. SCOTT.



HON. JOHN G. CARLISLE,
of Kentucky.



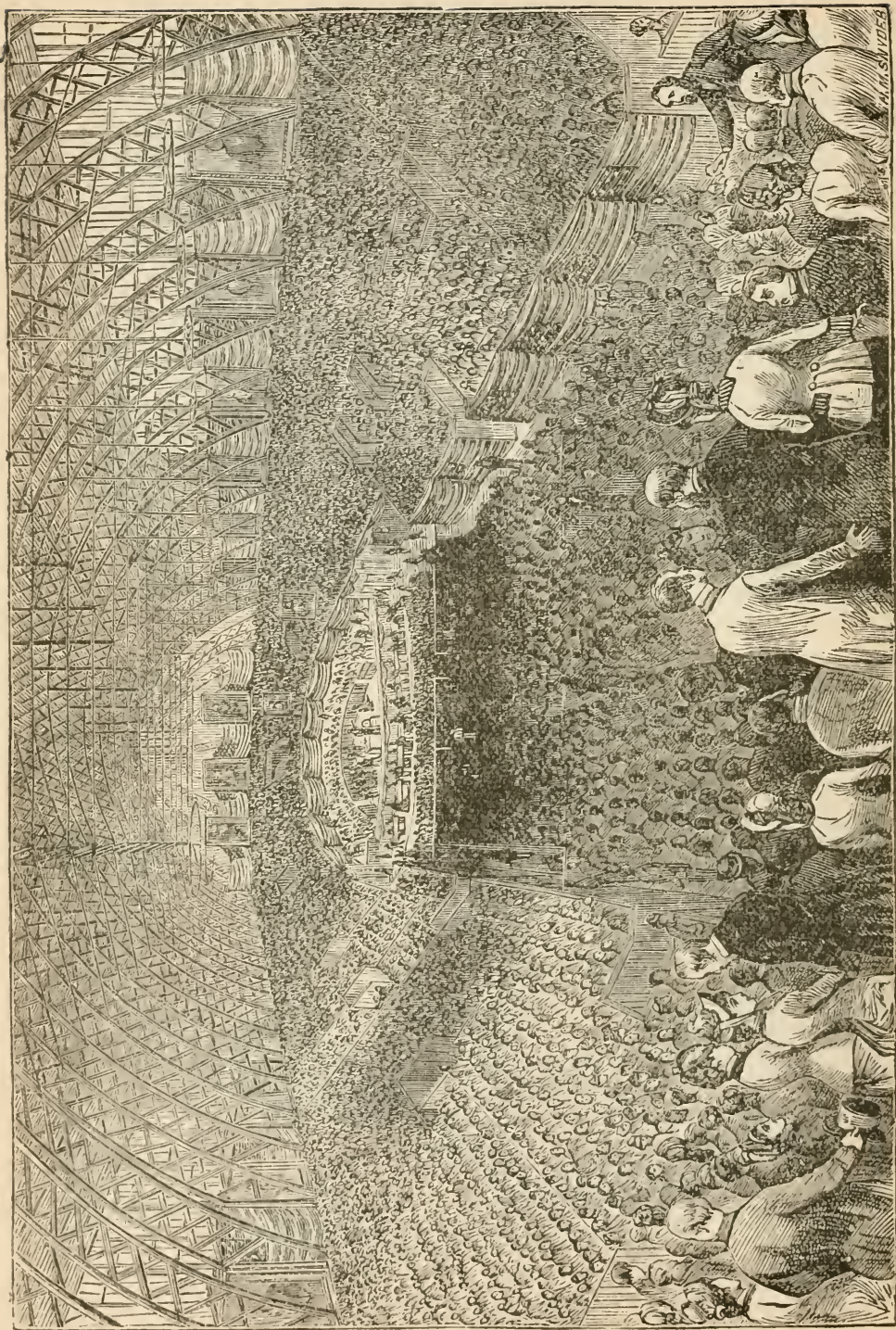
HON. SAMUEL J. RANDALL,
of Pennsylvania.



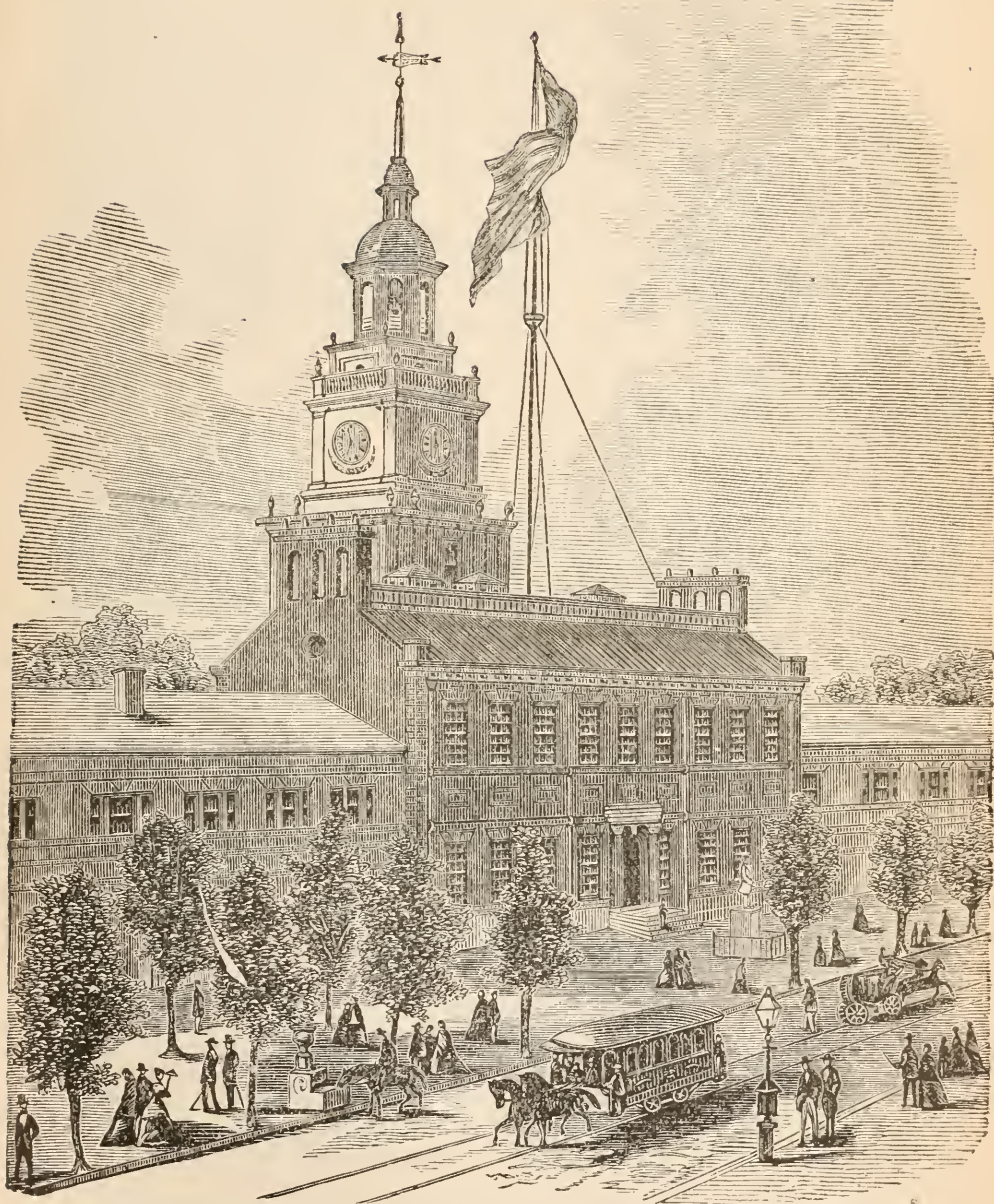
A CALM POLITICAL DISCUSSION.



CROWDED HOTELS.



THE CHICAGO DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1884 NOMINATING CLEVELAND.



THE OLD STATE HOUSE—WHERE INDEPENDENCE WAS DECLARED.



CARPENTER'S HALL—WHERE THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS MET.



THE NATIONAL MUSEUM—IN INDEPENDENCE HALL.

a change. There should be no disposition to answer such suggestions by the allegation that they are in a minority among those who labor, and therefore should forego an advantage, in the interest of low prices for the majority; their compensation, as it may be affected by the operation of tariff laws, should at all times be scrupulously kept in view; and yet with slight reflection they will not overlook the fact that they are consumers with the rest; that they, too, have their own wants and those of their families to supply from their earnings, and that the price of the necessities of life, as well as the amount of their wages, will regulate the measure of their welfare and comfort.

“But the reduction of taxation demanded should be so measured as not to necessitate or justify either the loss of employment by the workingman nor the lessening of his wages; and the profits still remaining to the manufacturer, after a necessary readjustment, should furnish no excuse for the sacrifice of the interests of his employés either in their opportunity to work or in the diminution of their compensation. Nor can the worker in manufactures fail to understand that while a high tariff is claimed to be necessary to allow the payment of remunerative wages, it certainly results in a very large increase in the price of nearly all sorts of manufactures, which, in almost countless forms, he needs for the use of himself and his family. He receives at the desk of his employer his wages, and perhaps before he reaches his home is obliged in a purchase for family use of an article which embraces his own labor, to return in the payment of the increase in price which the tariff permits,

the hard-earned compensation of many days of toil.

HOW AGRICULTURE IS AFFECTED.

“The farmer and the agriculturist who manufacture nothing, but who pay the increased price which the tariff imposes, upon every agricultural implement, upon all he wears and upon all he uses and owns, except the increase of his flocks and herds and such things as his husbandry produces from the soil, is invited to aid in maintaining the present situation; and he is told that a high duty on imported wool is necessary for the benefit of those who have sheep to shear, in order that the price of their wool may be increased. They, of course, are not reminded that the farmer who has no sheep is by this scheme obliged, in his purchases of clothing and woollen goods, to pay a tribute to his fellow farmer as well as to the manufacturer and merchant; nor is any mention made of the fact that the sheep-owners themselves and their households must wear clothing and use other articles manufactured from the wool they sell at tariff prices, and thus as consumers must return their share of this increased price to the tradesman.

“I think it may be fairly assumed that a large proportion of the sheep owned by the farmers throughout the country are found in small flocks numbering from twenty-five to fifty. The duty on the grade of imported wool which these sheep yield, is ten cents each pound if of the value of thirty cents or less, and twelve cents if of the value of more than thirty cents. If the liberal estimate of six pounds be allowed for each fleece,

the duty thereon would be sixty or seventy-two cents, and this may be taken as the utmost enhancement of its price to the farmer by reason of this duty. Eighteen dollars would thus represent the increased price of the wool from twenty-five sheep, and thirty-six dollars that from the wool of fifty sheep; and at present values this addition would amount to about one-third of its price. If upon its sale the farmer receives this or a less tariff profit, the wool leaves his hands charged with precisely that sum, which in all its changes will adhere to it, until it reaches the consumer. When manufactured into cloth and other goods and material for use, its cost is not only increased to the extent of the farmer's tariff profit, but a further sum has been added for the benefit of the manufacturer under the operation of other tariff laws. In the meantime the day arrives when the farmer finds it necessary to purchase woollen goods and material to clothe himself and family for the winter. When he faces the tradesman for that purpose he discovers that he is obliged not only to return in the way of increased prices, his tariff profit on the wool he sold, and which then perhaps lies before him in manufactured form, but that he must add a considerable sum thereto to meet a further increase in cost caused by a tariff duty on the manufacture. Thus in the end he is aroused to the fact that he has paid upon a moderate purchase, as a result of the tariff scheme, which, when he sold his wool, seemed so profitable, an increase in price more than sufficient to sweep away all the tariff profit he received upon the wool he produced and sold.

EVERY MAN'S CLOTHING NOW TAXED.

“When the number of farmers engaged in wool-raising is compared with all the farmers in the country, and the small proportion they bear to our population is considered; when it is made apparent that, in the case of a large part of those who own sheep, the benefit of the present tariff on wool is illusory; and, above all, when it must be conceded that the increase of the cost of living caused by such tariff, becomes a burden upon those with moderate means and the poor, the employed and unemployed, the sick and well, and the young and old, and that it constitutes a tax which, with relentless grasp, is fastened upon the clothing of every man, woman, and child in the land, reasons are suggested why the removal or reduction of this duty should be included in a revision of our tariff laws.

“In speaking of the increased cost to the consumer of our home manufactures, resulting from a duty laid upon imported articles of the same description, the fact is not overlooked that competition among our domestic producers sometimes has the effect of keeping the price of their products below the highest limit allowed by such duty. But it is notorious that this competition is too often strangled by combinations quite prevalent at this time, and frequently called trusts, which have for their object the regulation of the supply and price of commodities made and sold by members of the combination. The people can hardly hope for any consideration in the operation of these selfish schemes.

“If, however, in the absence of such combination, a healthy and free competition reduces the

price of any particular dutiable article of home production, below the limit which it might otherwise reach under our tariff laws, and if, with such reduced price, its manufacture continues to thrive, it is entirely evident that one thing has been discovered which should be carefully scrutinized in an effort to reduce taxation.

ABOMINABLE COMBINATIONS.

“The necessity of combination to maintain the price of any commodity to the tariff point, furnishes proof that some one is willing to accept lower prices for such commodity, and that such prices are remunerative; and lower prices produced by competition prove the same thing. Thus, where either of these conditions exist, a case would seem to be presented for an easy reduction of taxation.

“The considerations which have been presented touching our tariff laws are intended only to enforce an earnest recommendation that the surplus revenues of the Government be prevented by the reduction of our customs duties, and, at the same time, to emphasize a suggestion that in accomplishing this purpose, we may discharge a double duty to our people by granting to them a measure of relief from tariff taxation in quarters where it is most needed and from sources where it can be most fairly and justly accorded.

“Nor can the presentation made of such considerations be, with any degree of fairness, regarded as evidence of unfriendliness toward our manufacturing interests, or of any lack of appreciation of their value and importance.

“These interests constitute a leading and most

substantial element of our national greatness and furnish the proud proof of our country's progress. But if in the emergency that presses upon us our manufacturers are asked to surrender something for the public good and to avert disaster, their patriotism, as well as a grateful recognition of advantages already afforded, should lead them to willing co-operation. No demand is made that they shall forego all the benefits of governmental regard; but they cannot fail to be admonished of their duty, as well as their enlightened self interest and safety, when they are reminded of the fact that financial panic and collapse, to which the present condition tends, afford no greater shelter or protection to our manufactures than to our other important enterprises. Opportunity for safe, careful, and deliberate reform is now offered; and none of us should be unmindful of a time when an abused and irritated people, heedless of those who have resisted timely and reasonable relief, may insist upon a radical and sweeping rectification of their wrongs.

A WORK FRAUGHT WITH DIFFICULTY.

“The difficulty attending a wise and fair revision of our tariff laws is not underestimated. It will require on the part of the Congress great labor and care, and especially a broad and national contemplation of the subject, and a patriotic disregard of such local and selfish claims as are unreasonable and reckless of the welfare of the entire country.

“Under our present laws more than four thousand articles are subject to duty. Many of these do not in any way compete with our own manufactures, and many are hardly worth attention as subjects of revenue. A considerable reduction can be

made in the aggregate, by adding them to the free list. The taxation of luxuries presents no features of hardship; but the necessities of life used and consumed by all the people, the duty upon which adds to the cost of living in every home, should be greatly cheapened.

“The radical reduction of the duties imposed upon raw material used in manufactures, or its free importation, is of course an important factor in any effort to reduce the price of these necessities; it would not only relieve them from the increased cost caused by the tariff on such material, but the manufactured product being thus cheapened, that part of the tariff now laid upon such product, as a compensation to our manufacturers for the present price of raw material, could be accordingly modified. Such reduction, or free importation, would serve beside to largely reduce the revenue. It is not apparent how such a change can have any injurious effect upon our manufacturers. On the contrary, it would appear to give them a better chance in foreign markets with the manufacturers of other countries, who cheapen their wares by free material. Thus our people might have the opportunity of extending their sales beyond the limits of home consumption—saving them from the depression, interruption in business, and loss caused by a glutted domestic market, and affording their employés more certain and steady labor, with its resulting quiet and contentment.

APPEAL TO PATRIOTIC DUTY.

“The question thus imperatively presented for solution should be approached in a spirit higher than partisanship and considered in the light of

that regard for patriotic duty which should characterize the action of those intrusted with the weal of a confiding people. But the obligation to declared party policy and principle is not wanting to urge prompt and effective action. Both of the great political parties now represented in the Government have, by repeated and authoritative declarations, condemned the condition of our laws which permit the collection from the people of unnecessary revenue, and have, in the most solemn manner, promised its correction; and neither as citizens or partisans are our countrymen in a mood to condone the deliberate violation of these pledges.

“Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a *condition* which confronts us—not a theory. Relief from this condition may involve a slight reduction of the advantages which we award our home productions, but the entire withdrawal of such advantages should not be contemplated. The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant; and the persistent claim made in certain quarters, that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration for the public good.

REDUCTION OF TAXATION.

“The simple and plain duty which we owe the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and to restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through

the perversion of governmental powers. These things can and should be done with safety to all our industries, without danger to the opportunity for remunerative labor which our workingmen need, and with benefit to them and all our people, by cheapening their means of subsistence and increasing the measure of their comforts.

“The Constitution provides that the President ‘shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union.’ It has been the custom of the Executive, in compliance with this provision, to annually exhibit to the Congress, at the opening of its session, the general condition of the country, and to detail, with some particularity, the operations of the different Executive Departments. It would be especially agreeable to follow this course at the present time, and to call attention to the valuable accomplishments of these Departments during the last fiscal year. But I am so much impressed with the paramount importance of the subject to which this communication has thus far been devoted, that I shall forego the addition of any other topic, and only urge upon your immediate consideration the ‘state of the Union’ as shown in the present condition of our treasury and our general fiscal situation, upon which every element of our safety and prosperity depends.

“The reports of the heads of Departments, which will be submitted, contain full and explicit information touching the transaction of the business intrusted to them, and such recommendations relating to legislation in the public interest as they deem advisable. I ask for these reports and recommendations the deliberate examination and action of the Legislative branch of the Government.

“There are other subjects not embraced in the departmental reports demanding legislative consideration and which I should be glad to submit. Some of them, however, have been earnestly presented in previous messages, and as to them, I beg leave to repeat prior recommendations.

“As the law makes no provision for any report from the Department of State, a brief history of the transactions of that important Department, together with other matters which it may hereafter be deemed essential to commend to the attention of the Congress, may furnish the occasion for a future communication.

“GROVER CLEVELAND.

“WASHINGTON,

“December 6, 1887.”

The foregoing message produced a deep impression throughout the country, and at once stimulated public discussion of the tariff question. When the States held their National Conventions the President's views were approved or denounced according to the party passing them in review. A wide diversity of opinion upon the question of taxation has been developed, yet it is believed the sound principles enunciated in President Cleveland's manifesto will commend themselves to many outside his party, as they are certainly approved by a vast majority in it.

CHAPTER XI.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S PUBLIC ADDRESSES.

THE PRESIDENT NOT AN INVETERATE TALKER—ART OF PUTTING THINGS—HARD SENSE AND NO SUPERFLUOUS ORNAMENT—TOUR THROUGH THE WEST AND SOUTH—SPEECH AT MILWAUKEE—RECEPTION AT MADISON—ADDRESS TO A GREAT CROWD—SPEECHES AT MINNEAPOLIS AND ATLANTA—ATTENDING PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN PHILADELPHIA—RECEPTION AT OVERBROOK—ARRIVAL OF SOUTHERN GENERAL ASSEMBLY—PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S SPEECH.

ALTHOUGH President Cleveland has never been much addicted to political speeches, yet on several occasions he has delivered public addresses on a variety of topics. These have uniformly shown good sense, a thorough mastery of the subject, a plain, straightforward style of utterance, and a felicitous way of putting things. Guarded from rash expressions on the one hand, and unmeaning, negative commonplaces on the other, his public addresses reach the average intelligence of the people, clearly state what is intended, and are free from superfluous ornament and pompous grandiloquence.

It will be interesting to our readers to peruse some of these public utterances.

Early in October, 1887, President Cleveland,

having accepted urgent invitations from various municipal bodies to enjoy the hospitality of their respective towns, started on a tour through the West and South. There were cordial greetings and magnificent demonstrations at all the points touched by the Presidential train. After a hearty welcome at Chicago, a visit was paid to Milwaukee. Here the party met with another cordial reception. The town was decorated in honor of the distinguished arrival, and every possible attention was paid to the President and his popular wife.

The parade from the depot to the reviewing stand followed the President all over the city and included the poorest and dingiest quarters, where distinguished visitors are not usually taken. The President reviewed at the court house, where the Republican Mayor delivered the brief address of welcome and President Cleveland responded, while a revenue cutter fired the President's salute. Mr. Cleveland spoke as follows :

“I am very glad to have an opportunity, though the time allowed is very brief, to meet the people of Wisconsin's chief city. Since we left home, and in passing through different States on our way, there has been presented to us a variety of physical features characteristic of their diversity in soil and conformation. But the people we have met at all points have been the same in their energy and activity, in their local pride, and in that peculiar trait of American character which produces the belief, firmly adhered to by every individual, that

his particular place of residence is the chosen and most favored spot which the world contains. This condition creates an aggregate of sentiment invincible in operation, furnishing the motive power which has brought about the stupendous growth and development of our country.

“But there has been another element of character displayed among the people everywhere on our travel which has been universal and not disturbed or changed by any difference in place or circumstance. No State lines have circumscribed, no local pride has diminished, and no business activity has in the least stifled the kindness and cordiality of the people’s welcome. There is bitterness enough in the partisan feeling which seems inseparable from our political methods; but the good people of the United States have, I believe, decreed that there are occasions when this shall have no place. This is well manifested to-day in our hearty greeting by the people of Wisconsin and this active, stirring city. Municipal enterprise has added much to the natural beauty of your metropolis, as is attested by your pleasant streets and handsome homes with their surroundings. But its great increase in population, its manufactures and its trade demonstrates that its citizens have not been content with beauty alone.

“I cannot forget my interest in municipal affairs, arising from an active experience at one time in city government; and I find myself very much inclined to scrutinize such statements as fall under my eye demonstrating their financial condition. With all its extensive public improvements, unless I am much at fault, the city of Milwaukee has less of public debt than any city of its population in

the United States excepting one. In these days, when the temptation to local public extravagance is not often enough understood, you may well be proud of this exhibit, and besides the satisfaction which this financial condition produces, it has a practical side to it. Large enterprises are often much influenced in their location by such considerations, and they are apt to be established where the burden of taxation is the least, and where the share of public indebtedness to be borne by them is the smallest."

From Milwaukee the President went to Madison. All along the route the inhabitants turned out to get a glimpse of the nation's Chief Executive and pay him tokens of respect.

Madison had decorated its streets very prettily and turned out a large crowd at the station. Excursion parties had come from all the neighboring parts of the State and the town was full of people. The party was escorted to the handsome capitol building and under a patriotic arch on which stood a beautiful Goddess of Liberty. The most pointed decoration seen on the way was that with which Rev. W. A. McAtee, the pastor of the Presbyterian Church, had adorned the parsonage in honor of the man who was born in a Presbyterian parsonage. In front of the house stands a vigorous young hickory tree. On this was fastened a large shield handsomely bound with red and blue cloth and bearing the inscription: "The kind of timber we have in the White House." On the pillars of

the porch was fastened another shield bearing the words: "The kind of house it began to grow in."

THE PRESIDENT'S SPEECH.

At the Capitol, where there was a great crowd and a great deal of cheering, as, indeed, there was everywhere, Chief Justice Cole welcomed the President to the city in a strictly non-partisan speech, and he responded as follows:

"After a week spent in travel and in visiting the people of the great West, we have come to rest awhile at the capital of Wisconsin, known as the most beautiful in location and scenery of all the cities of this region. We have come to see your lakes and other features of beauty that give you the reputation so well deserved.

"You are not to understand that we need or desire rest so much that we do not care to see the good people of Madison, for that would be a mistake. Though we see them at their home for the first time, they are not unknown to us. We knew you at the seat of the National Government through your fellow-townsmen, who has done honor to his home and to his neighbors by a most successful and conscientious performance of important public duty, and who has earned, as he has received, the respect and esteem of every citizen who desires the welfare of his country. So our desire to actually see you and to know you better is perfectly natural. It seemed to me when I planned the trip which we have undertaken that Madison would be a proper place at which to make our first stop for rest. I have always observed

that when a man wants to do something of this kind he can quite readily find a way to justify it. So when I conceived the idea of staying at Madison over Sunday and testing the kindness of her citizens and the hospitality of the Postmaster General, all I had to do was to imagine that we would be very much fatigued when we reached here, and in need of the rest I was determined we should have. Thus we are here, and tired enough to justify my plans.

"I am already satisfied that all descriptions of your city with which I have been favored have failed to give me an adequate idea of its beauty, of its broad and pleasant streets, and of its fine public and private buildings. I am already prepared to venture the assertion, based upon very slight observation, that this is the home of kind, hearty and hospitable people. The influence upon a community of such a university as has its seat here, the alma mater of hundreds of educated and useful men scattered throughout our entire Western country, is greater than is at first glance appreciated. It fosters a certain refinement and cultivation which radiate in all the homes within its sphere, vastly enhancing their value as nurseries of steady and intelligent citizenship. I expect to heartily enjoy my stay here, and to always hereafter cherish pleasing recollections of your city and its inhabitants."

At Minneapolis the popular demonstration was repeated. As the President's train arrived, he and Mrs. Cleveland emerged from the car and were met by the outstretched hand of the Mayor. Cordial greetings followed, and ex-Congressman Wash-

burn, Judge Rea, commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, and several members of the local reception committee were introduced. The members of the Algonquin Club, 150 strong, then made a pathway through the crowd, and the processions moved on to the West Hotel through the crowded and decorated streets. It took but a few moments to reach the hotel, and the guests were without further ceremony conducted to the floral bower that had been prepared for their coming.

THE SPEECH OF THE DAY.

In the afternoon the President and his party were driven about the city, and on returning to the hotel he spoke from the balcony to the crowd as follows :

“Fellow-Citizens :

“I have come from the wondrous city of St. Paul to see its twin wonder and the people of Minneapolis. I have lately seen a little book entitled, ‘Minneapolis and St. Paul Compared,’ which deals demolishing blows to the pretense of the latter-named city, and discredits the idea that it is in any phase or feature the equal of this. I became a little confused by the facts and figures stated, and determined to see both cities, as the best means of settling the question discussed with so much spirit. I have arrived at the conclusion now that if these two wondrous cities are not satisfied with their respective conditions of growth and greatness all the rest of their amazed fellow-countrymen are.

“While the people of these rival places are

hoisting figures to determine which is the greater, the rest of us are pointing to you both as the best exemplifications of what American pluck and energy can accomplish. When I see this handsome city, with its splendid residences and immense business blocks, and when it occurs to me that I am at the greatest wheat market in the world; that the largest flour-mill in existence is located here; that the capacity of all such mills in Minneapolis exceeds 36,000 barrels of flour a day; that these mills are in direct communication with the foreign markets of the world, and that millions of barrels of flour are annually exported from this city to foreign countries, I find myself wondering how much further I would have to go to reach the West, that is, the 'Out West,' which used to be presented to my young imagination by the wagons covered with canvas, filled with men, women, and children, and household utensils. As these establishments dragged slowly through the village, destined 'Out West,' it seemed to me that their occupants had forever bid farewell to civilization. This was not very long ago, and perhaps I saw in those wagons some of the pioneers of Minnesota, and perhaps some of the early settlers of Minneapolis were there.

"How absurd it would be if I should meet one of these pioneers here to-day, or his son, and talk to him of a contrast between the refinement, civilization, and cultivation of his present home and the one he or his father left in the State of New York. Besides this, the fact that many States in the East contributed largely to your early population gives us a little better right to be proud of your achievement, and every American citizen

ought to be proud that his country can produce two cities with the wealth and growth and success of Minneapolis and St. Paul."

We next find the President at Atlanta, Georgia, after numerous receptions at prominent points along the route. Here Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland and Postmaster-General Vilas were escorted to the Capitol, where they entered the Governor's room and were received by Governor Gordon. The visiting governors, the Supreme Court of the State, the members of the Governor's staff, the United States officials, the municipal authorities, and the members of the Legislature were presented to the city's guests. The party then drove to the Exposition grounds at Piedmont Park, where Mr. Henry W. Grady formally welcomed the President in a brief speech. Mr. Cleveland replied:

"When in 1845 a convention was held at Memphis, in the State of Tennessee, having for its object the development of the Western and Southern States, one of the most prominent and far-seeing statesmen of the country foretold the future greatness and importance of a point in DeKalb county, in the State of Georgia, called Atlanta, not far from the village of Decatur. The place was then properly called 'a point,' for Atlanta was then merely a name given to the railroad station here, having no fair pretensions to being either a village or city. It was two years after this that the name was adopted by the people of the little village of Marthasville, when they proudly acquired a city

charter. Experiencing all the incidents and struggles common to municipal growth, it had in 1861 a population of about 13,000. Soon thereafter the thunders of war sounded all about her, and a besieged army occupied her streets and business places. Thus it is that the Atlanta of to-day may well be said to date from 1865.

“I have lately seen evidences of the activity and perseverance of the people of the United States in the creation of prosperous and bustling cities, and in overcoming difficulties that are inseparable from new settlements and the growth of new cities. But it seems to me that an element of heroism is added by a people who view without despair the destruction of all they have wrought—who begin again to build their waste places—and who, in spite of the greatest discouragements, evince a determination to reach their destiny. In twenty-two years the second Atlanta has been built, incomparably larger, more prosperous and fairer than the destroyed Atlanta. Her people may well be proud of the work of their hands. All their countrymen may congratulate themselves that what has been done is the result of American courage and American enterprise. Surely nothing should stand in the way of such congratulation, and the citizen who, seeing these additions to the wealth and progress of the nation, cannot now from his heart proudly say of the people who have restored Atlanta, ‘These are my countrymen,’ forgets his fealty to American citizenship.”

On May 23, 1888, President Cleveland paid a visit to Philadelphia. The Presbyterian General Assembly of the United States was in session.

This is the Church in which President Cleveland's father was an honored minister, and in which he received his early religious teaching. The gathering in Philadelphia was a notable one, representatives from all parts of the country being present. The occasion was most interesting, as it was the celebration of a century's activity and growth.

A reception was tendered the President by Mr. and Mrs. Wistar Morris at Overbrook, in the suburbs of the "Quaker City." The members of the General Assembly were conveyed thither by special train. The occasion was also memorable by reason of the presence of the General Assembly of the Southern Church, who were invited guests.

The sight on reaching the grounds was a very pretty one. The gay beds of colored leaves were just beginning to show their rich designs, and here and there were clumps of rhododendrons and other flowering and foliage plants. A large refreshment tent was erected on the lawn to the right of the house, and the lawn immediately in front of the porch was laid with boards. The commissioners amused themselves by wandering through the halls and parlors of the mansion, waiting for the arrival of their Southern brethren.

Mr. Morris welcomed the members of both assemblies to the hospitality of his home, and hoped that on such an auspicious occasion they would reunite and form one assembly.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S SPEECH.

Mr. Cleveland spoke as follows :

“I am much gratified by the opportunity here afforded me to meet the representatives of the Presbyterian Church. It will be admitted by all here to be the best denomination. [Laughter and applause.] Surely a man never should lose his interest in the welfare of the Church in which he was reared, and yet I will not find fault with any of you who deem it a sad confession made when I acknowledge that I must recall the days now long past to find my closest relation to the grand and noble denomination which you represent.

“I say this because those of us who inherit fealty to our Church as I did begin early to learn those things which make us Presbyterians all the days of our lives, and thus it is that the rigors of our early teaching, by which we are grounded in our lasting allegiance, are especially vivid and perhaps the best remembered. The attendance upon church service three times each Sunday and upon Sabbath-school during the noon intermission may be irksome enough to a boy of ten or twelve years of age to be well fixed in his memory, but I have never known a man who regretted these things in the years of his maturity. [Applause.]

“The Shorter Catechism, though thoroughly studied and learned, was not perhaps at the time perfectly understood, and yet in the stern labors and duties of after life those are not apt to be the worst citizens who were early taught what is the chief end of man. [Laughter and continued applause.] Speaking of these things and in the presence of those here assembled the most tender

thoughts crowd upon my mind—all connected with Presbyterianism and its teachings. There are present with me now memories of a kind and affectionate father, consecrated to the cause, and called to his rest and his reward in the midday of his usefulness; a sacred recollection of the prayers and pious love of a sainted mother, and a family circle hallowed and sanctified by the spirit of Presbyterianism. [Applause.]

“I certainly cannot but express the wish and hope that the Presbyterian Church will always be at the front in every movement which promises the temporal as well as the spiritual advancement of mankind. In the turmoil and bustle of everyday life few are foolish enough to ignore the practical value to our people and our country of the church organizations established among us and the advantage of Christian example and teaching. [Applause.]

“The field is vast and the work sufficient to engage the efforts of every sect and denomination, but I am inclined to believe that the church which is most tolerant and conservative without loss of spiritual strength will soonest find the way to the hearts and affections of the people. While we may be pardoned for insisting that our denomination is the best, we may, I think, safely concede much that is good to all other churches that seek to make men better. [Applause.]

“I am here to greet the delegates of two General Assemblies of the Presbyterian Church. One is called North and the other South. The subject is too deep and intricate for me, but I cannot help wondering why this should be. These words, so far as they denote separation and estrangement,

should be obsolete. [Continued applause and cries of hear, hear!] In the councils of the nation and in the business of the country they no longer mean reproach and antagonism. Even the soldiers who fought for the North and for the South are restored to fraternity and unity. This fraternity and unity is taught and enjoined by our Church. When shall she herself be united with all the added strength and usefulness that harmony and union ensure?" [Applause and cheers.]

These addresses present President Cleveland as one who has a happy faculty of adapting himself to the occasion. His heart is open and his hand is ready. His tongue gives utterance to his thought, and it is impossible to mistake his meaning. He is singularly free from all "spread-eagleism." The sober, practical, every-day qualities that fit one for the labors, perplexities, and duties of ordinary life belong to him, in addition to his statesman-like characteristics.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FIRST LADY OF THE LAND.

A RESPONSIBLE POSITION—GOOD SENSE AND TACT REQUIRED—
MRS. CLEVELAND'S BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE—AT SCHOOL IN
BUFFALO—SEVERE FAMILY AFFLICTION—LIFE AT WELLS COL-
LEGE—WHISPERS CONCERNING ATTENTIONS FROM THE GOV-
ERNOR AT ALBANY—DAY OF GRADUATION—FLOWERS FROM
THE CONSERVATORY OF THE WHITE HOUSE—TRIP TO EUROPE
—WEDDING AT WASHINGTON—THE SCENE DESCRIBED—
HONEYMOON AT DEER PARK—ESTIMATE OF MRS. CLEVEL-
LAND'S CHARACTER.

MRS. GROVER CLEVELAND occupies the highest position of any lady in the land. It has fallen to her lot to preside over the Executive Mansion, to appear at public receptions and on State occasions, and tender the hospitalities of the White House to its numerous visitors. That she is regarded by the people at large with something more than ordinary interest is due not only to her exalted position, but to those traits of character which secure for their possessor the warmest affection. Beloved by all who have personally known her, called in her very youth to a place of such responsibility, and one requiring good sense, delicate tact, and unwearied patience to fill it, she has proved her eminent fitness to be the wife of the President, and has graced the station she occupies.

It will be interesting to our readers to have some account of Mrs. Cleveland's early life and marriage.

The city of Buffalo, N. Y., was her birthplace. Here she was born on the 21st of July, 1864. Frank Folsom, as she was called in childhood, gave promise of growing to fine proportions, both physically and mentally. Her father was a whole-souled, genial man, possessed of a singular power to attract others, and was surrounded by many warm friends. He was a popular man with the business community, and greatly beloved in his own household.

The family continued to reside in Buffalo until Mr. Folsom's death in 1875, and then, under the shadow of their great bereavement, Mrs. Folsom and daughter went to the country town of Medina to reside with Mrs. Folsom's mother.

The chief concern at this time was the education of Miss Frances. She had attended Mine. Brecker's French Kindergarten, and on the return of the family to Buffalo, she entered the Central School, where she had the reputation of being a good scholar, studious, capable of close application, and enthusiastic in whatever she undertook.

Receiving a certificate from the Central School, she was able, without examination, to enter the Sophomore class at Wells College. Her personal popularity was soon evident. Both teachers and pupils felt the charm of her womanly heart and

cultured manner. If at that time it had been foretold that a young lady in the institution was to be elevated to the position of mistress of the White House, there would have been no difficulty in guessing who was the one pre-eminently fitted for the high station.

While at Wells College, it became known that Miss Folsom was the favored recipient of attentions from the Governor of the State. Mr. Cleveland was then at Albany, busily occupied with his gubernatorial duties. Time passed; the occupant of the Governor's chair was transferred to a wider sphere of political power and influence at Washington, and when Miss Frances graduated, flowers from the White House conservatories lent beauty to the occasion. This was enough; it was openly whispered that President Cleveland would not remain a bachelor forever.

After her graduation Miss Folsom went to spend a part of the summer with her grandfather, the late Colonel John B. Folsom, of Folsomdale, Wyoming county, N. Y. By his death the granddaughter, of whom he appears to have been very fond, came into possession of a handsome property, in addition to a competency possessed before.

In company with her mother and uncle, Mr. Benjamin Folsom, she spent the following winter in Europe. If there was any definite understanding or engagement between her and President Cleveland before or during her absence, the matter

was in good hands. Discretion did not once unseal its lips, and the public, ever as ready for rumor and gossip as a vacuum is for air, was left to its own surmises and guesses. Before her return, however, it was openly asserted by persons who have a wonderful way of announcing things beforehand, and who sometimes blunder into a correct statement, that the fair young lady in Europe was to return and unpack her trunks at the White House. It was true, and at length there was no concealment of the fact.

Little was heard from Miss Folsom until the Red Star steamer *Noordland*, from Antwerp, sailed into the port of New York, having just transferred to a United States revenue cutter Miss Folsom, her mother, and her uncle, Mr. Benjamin Folsom. The cutter ran up the bay with an occasional salute of steam-whistles, but the party came comparatively unannounced. Colonel Lamont was present as the President's representative. At the pier the bride-elect was welcomed by Miss Cleveland, and the party was speedily installed at the Gilsey House. Mrs. Lamont, Mrs. Whitney, and Mrs. Endicott paid their respects early the following day, and on Sunday, the 30th, the President arrived in New York, and immediately repaired to the hotel to greet his future wife. He was accompanied by Secretaries Whitney and Lamar, but these gentlemen left him at the ferry, and he met Mrs. and Miss Folsom alone in their private parlors.

The hurried manner in which an American President is obliged to attend to personal matters, even of the first magnitude, is well exemplified in Mr. Cleveland's trip from Washington to New York to greet his bride-elect. A correspondent gives the following graphic description :

“President Cleveland's last Sunday in bachelorhood was one of quiet but busy preparation for his journey to New York, and the other and most interesting event of the coming week. He attended church to-day (May 30) with Miss Cleveland and Miss Nelson, but the good and oratorical Dr. Sunderland, the President's pastor, who is very proud of the part he has to perform on Wednesday, did not refer to the blissful event in prayer or sermon. After the service they drove to Secretary Manning's. They found Mr. Manning bright and cheerful, and he declared his purpose to attend the wedding.

“The President left the White House at a little before four P. M. for the Baltimore and Potomac station. He drove around the back way, to and across the government reservation south of Pennsylvania avenue, so that the loungers on that popular thoroughfare did not get a chance to give him a parting glance and God-speed. He was at the back door of the station before anybody knew it.

“The fact that the President was to leave Washington for New York on the regular Congressional express had been announced for some days in the daily press, and the announcement was officially confirmed at the White House. It was

stated also that there was to be no special train. The official utterances of the White House, however, are not implicitly relied upon in the days of a honey-moon, and the fact was not considered as well established until it was confirmed by the railroad officials. The Cabinet members of the President's party evidently understood that the train was to leave as on other days and came to the station early.

"Some time before the Presidential party came, two mysterious-looking men, who kept their own counsel and whom no one knew, arrived, took up their position near the entrance to the private car, and seemed to make it their business to know who was present. There was a business headquarters look about them which reminded the lookers-on of similar strangers who were in attendance upon the President at the time of the inauguration, and who, it was afterwards discovered, were New York detectives, furnished by the President's excessively prudent friends as a body-guard.

"One of these ever-present, ever-watchful strangers, save for his face which had a much happier look, might have been taken for the President himself.

"The Cabinet party began to arrive, and the strangers moved from the gate a little to keep a close watch upon the car. If it was their purpose to keep the reporters away from the President they were unsuccessful, for the reporters were there in force. If they came to keep any one else away they were in like manner unsuccessful, for no one else had curiosity enough to come to the station in the hot sun.

"Postmaster-General and Mrs. Vilas were the

first of the Presidential party to arrive, accompanied by Assistant Postmaster-General Knott, of Maryland. The latter, known by virtue of his position to most railroad officials, had the side gate at once opened, and the Postmaster-General, Mrs. Vilas, Mrs. Lamont (who went as a guest of the party), Mr. and Mrs. Endicott, and Secretary Lamar at once walked down the long platform. They were the only members of the company, except the President himself and his valet, Henry, for whom there was a long wait. The ladies at once entered the saloon parlor, at the rear of Vice-President Thomson's car. The drawing room in the front part of the car was reserved for President Cleveland, and every blind and curtain in it was closely drawn.

"The long wait that followed created uneasiness. The train was held three or four minutes. The President had not come. Then there was a movement and the word was passed along the scattered line: 'There he comes. He is coming the back way!'

"Mr. Cleveland came in sight on the long platform from the South End about five minutes after the time for the regular leaving of the train. He was accompanied by an assistant station-agent, who, in case of an accident, had apparently been stationed as a picket in the outfield. He had hardly put foot upon the platform when the belated train rapidly pulled out of the station."

The date for the wedding was fixed for June 2d, 1886. The ceremony took place at the Executive Mansion.

It was nearly seven o'clock in the evening when the wedding guests assembled in the Blue Room. Owing to the President's desire that the affair should be as private as possible, the Diplomatic Corps had not been invited, and the following guests were the only persons present :

Mrs. Folsom, the mother of the bride ; Rev. W. N. Cleveland, the President's brother ; Mrs. Hoyt and Miss Cleveland, the President's sisters ; Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State ; Mr. Manning, Secretary of the Treasury, with Mrs. Manning ; Mr. Endicott, Secretary of War, with Mrs. Endicott ; Mr. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy, with Mrs. Whitney ; Mr. Vilas, Postmaster-General, with Mrs. Vilas ; Mr. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior ; Colonel Lamont, Private Secretary, with Mrs. Lamont ; Benjamin Folsom, Esq. ; Mr. and Mrs. Rogers, of Seneca Falls, N. Y. ; Mrs. Cadman and Miss Huddleston, of Detroit ; Mr. and Mrs. Harmon, of Boston ; Miss Nelson, of New York ; W. S. Bissell, Esq., of Buffalo, and Dr. and Mrs. Byron Sunderland. The Attorney-General, though invited, was not present.

The guests placed themselves in the form of a semicircle, Mr. Bayard being at the extreme left and Rev. Mr. Cleveland at the extreme right.

The Marine Band, which was stationed in the ante-room, gave forth the dulcet strains of the perennial wedding-march of Mendelssohn as the Rev. Dr. Sunderland took his position at the south

end of the room, and immediately after the bridal party entered. Miss Folsom leaned upon the President's arm, looking exceedingly pretty in her wedding-dress of cream-white satin. One skilled in the phraseology of the modiste has described this costume as follows :

The dress was of thick ivory satin, with high, plain corsage, elbow sleeves, and very long train. The front breadth just below the waist was draped from side to side with soft silk India muslin, attached on the left side, and nearly joining the court train. The muslin was bordered with a narrow band of orange flowers and leaves that outlined the draping. The train, which was attached to the plain bodice just below the waist, measured over four yards in length, was slightly rounded and fell in full plaits on the floor, with no trimming but its own richness. Two scarfs of the muslin, starting from the shoulder seams, crossed the bosom in Grecian folds and were bordered with a narrow band of orange flowers to correspond with the skirt. The scarfs disappeared under a girdle of satin, crossing the bodice from left to right. The sleeves were trimmed with folds of the mull and two or three orange buds and blossoms. The tulle veil, six yards in length, was fastened with a coronet of myrtle and orange blossoms above the high coiffure, its folds lightly covering the entire train. The general effect was that of exquisite simplicity, suited to the beauty of the bride. She

wore no jewelry and carried no hand-bouquet, but lightly held a superb white fan.

The President wore the canonical evening suit of black. The bearing of the couple was dignified and impressive. They were followed by the few guests who were closely related to the contracting parties, and as soon as the usual hush of such occasions had fallen upon the assemblage Dr. Sunderland offered up the following prayer :

Almighty and Everlasting God, the Father of our spirits, the Framer of our bodies, the Giver of every good and perfect gift—Thou who canst see the end from the beginning, who knowest what is best for us Thy children, and hast appointed the holy rite of marriage to be sacredly observed throughout all generations—regard now, we beseech Thee, Thy servant, our Chief Magistrate; endow him plenteously with Thy grace, and fill him with wisdom to walk in Thy ordinances. Be very nigh to him in the midst of many cares and grave responsibilities; day by day may thy law direct him and Thy strength uphold him, and be Thou forever his Sun and Shield. And be graciously pleased to look down upon this Thy daughter, even as Thou didst favor the chosen Rebecca and many noble women that have adorned the world. May she indeed be a precious boon of God to her husband, to cheer and help him continually—a woman gifted with the beauty of the Lord and shedding the sweet influence of a Christian life upon the nation in whose sight she is to dwell. Wilt Thou approve what we, Thy servants, come to do in Thy name, by Thine au-

thority and under the laws of the land in which we live; and graciously assist them, this man and this woman, who are here to be united in the bonds of holy wedlock according to the institution of Thy words. Mercifully be pleased, Almighty God, to vouchsafe to each of them Thy grace, that they may well and truly weigh the unfailing vows which they are now about to make to each other in the presence of this company and before Thee, and that they may be enabled hereafter at all times so to live together as to rejoice in the solemnization of this union with joy unspeakable and full of glory through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

The reverend doctor then performed the marriage ceremony in a manner at once solemn and impressive, the bride and groom making their responses in clear tones. The ring was then passed and placed upon the bride's finger, and the two were pronounced man and wife. The following benediction was spoken by the Rev. Mr. Cleveland:

"God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, bless, preserve and keep you; the Lord mercifully fill you with all temporal and all spiritual blessings, and grant that you may so live together in this world that in the world to come you may have life everlasting. Amen."

The ceremony occupied ten minutes. The Rev. Mr. Cleveland came forward first to offer his congratulations, and kissed the bride. Mr. Whit-

ney followed and then Mr. Lamar and the rest. Upon Colonel Lamont's invitation the guests then entered the dining-room, where a collation was served. Very elegant white satin boxes containing pieces of the wedding-cake were distributed as souvenirs, the date, June 2, 1886, being embroidered in colors on the covers.

Shortly after eight o'clock the President and Mrs. Cleveland left the supper-room, and presently reappeared in travelling-dress, prepared to take a special train to Deer Park, where they were to pass the honey-moon.

As to the pleasant way in which life went with them, no better picture can be obtained than that furnished by a correspondent of the *New York World* :

“When the sun rose over the summit of Eagle Rock this morning (June 4) there were no signs of life at the little cottage where President Cleveland and his bride have made their home for the honey-moon. A few clouds were in the sky, but with the breaking of day all was clear save a slight film that lowered from the north. In the valley below a heavy mist hung about the rocky cliffs and hid from view the little tributary of the Potomac, which, in the stillness of the mountains, could be heard rushing on below. As the sun rose higher a slight breeze sprang up from the east and stirred the leaves on the oaks around the executive cottage. A more beautiful morning could not have been. The cool, bracing air of the

mountain was warmed by the sun, and the clear atmosphere, like a huge magnifying glass, brought distant objects and the tops of the surrounding hills almost within reach. The first sound which broke the stillness was the voice of a young peacock perched upon the chimney of Stephen B. Elkins' cottage, next that of the President. In a few moments the birds were singing under the window of the bridal chamber, and the second day of the honey-moon had fairly begun. A curl of smoke floated out of the chimney of the cottage at eight o'clock, and the breeze drifted lazily away over the side of the mountain into the valley below. The servants were up and had kindled a little blaze in the fire-place in the sitting-room, the blinds were opened and the piazza swept, and the cottage was awake.

"Shortly after nine o'clock President Cleveland made his appearance for a moment at the front door, hat in hand, and after a few breaths of the mountain air passed out for a few moments' stroll in the rear of the cottage. He had hardly turned the corner of a little rustic summer house among the trees when Mrs. Cleveland stepped on the piazza and stood for some time looking about and towards the far-away hills. She was dressed as usual in her pearl-gray suit, but wore no hat. Over her shoulders was thrown a light shawl.

"After walking the length of the piazza several times she seated herself in a wicker rocking-chair and continued to enjoy the charming scenery. Both the President and his bride seemed fresh and bright after their long night's rest. At five minutes after ten o'clock the President came up the steps of the porch, and taking Mrs. Cleveland's arm,

retired to the dining-room, where breakfast was waiting them. While they were enjoying their morning meal an incident occurred, which, had Mr. Cleveland known of it, would probably for once have relaxed the police vigilance with which the cottage is guarded. An old colored woman shambled slowly up the path in front of the house, and encountering the sentry on post asked to be allowed to see the President. She led by one hand a little curly-headed boy, and in the other carried a bouquet of wild flowers which she had plucked for Mrs. Cleveland. The old woman had journeyed all night from over the hills from her little hut on the side of the mountain at Swanton, ten miles away. She wore an old faded calico-print dress, with a red bandanna handkerchief around her neck and up over her head in lieu of a hat, while her toes protruded from a pair of venerable slippers. Under her arm was an umbrella and a well-worn carpet-bag which antedated the last war.

“The guard told her that he would receive no visitors. Thinking that after her long journey she could not be refused, the old woman would hear of no such answer. Finally, after a half-hour’s argument, the poor old creature broke down and cried piteously. She pointed to her child and begged that he might at least be allowed to look at the President, but finding her entreaties of no avail she slowly and sadly took her child in her arms and with tears in her eyes started back over the hills to her hut.

“The poor old negro and her child were not the only disappointed visitors at the executive cottage. Hundreds of people who had heard of the arrival

of the bridal party lost no time in hastening to get a look at the couple. The stalls around the village church, and in front of the country stores were crowded full of every conceivable style of rural vehicle. The people had journeyed to Deer Park from their homes miles away, and all were intent upon getting at least one good view of the President and his bride."

Since that time Mrs. Cleveland has been the recipient of many attentions. She has lived in the eye of the public. At social receptions, at railway stations, on her journeys from place to place, on public occasions, and, in short, wherever her presence has been made known, she has been the object of universal interest. No "first lady of the land" ever before received so much attention. Her youth, her graceful dignity, her striking personal appearance, her winning ways, have thrown around her a charm, and her friends cannot but hope that she may grace her present position during our next national administration.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1888.

THE FORCES GATHERING—PROFUSE DECORATIONS—BRILLIANT SCENE—STATUES, FLAGS AND EAGLES—LARGE DEPUTATION FROM BUFFALO—NAMING TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN—SPEECH OF CHAIRMAN WHITE—GIFT OF A SOLID SILVER GAVEL FROM COLORADO—RED HANDKERCHIEFS WAVING FOR THURMAN—APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES—GENERAL PAT COLLINS CHOSEN PERMANENT CHAIRMAN—COLLINS' SPEECH ON TAKING THE CHAIR—ELOQUENT EXPOSITION OF DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES—DANIEL DOUGHERTY NOMINATES PRESIDENT CLEVELAND—GREAT ENTHUSIASM—LONG-CONTINUED CHEERING—UNVEILING FULL-LENGTH PORTRAIT OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND—KENTUCKY SECONDS THE NOMINATION—GEORGIA ADDS A WARM COMMENDATION—LAST DAY OF THE CONVENTION—THE INEVITABLE BANDANNA—NOMINATION OF THURMAN—HIS VIRTUES EXTOLLED—SPEECHES SECONDING THE NOMINATION—ENTHUSIASTIC INDORSEMENT OF THE GREAT OHIOAN—THE PLATFORM.

AT St. Louis, June 5, the Democratic National Convention began to gather in the early hours of the morning, although the gavel of Chairman Barnum, of the national committee, did not announce its opening until afternoon. The trickling stream of humanity which began to run into the big Exposition Building as early as eight o'clock, grew to a torrent which surged in and filled the great nave of the hall to overflowing, and long before noon

ten thousand faces gazed upon the high desk reserved for the presiding officer of the Convention.

The decorations were simple but effective. The stage was hung with red, white and blue bunting, relieved by festoons and borders of evergreens. Upon a pedestal on the right of the entrance of the stage stood a bust of the President, and suspended upon the face of the gallery above the stage, heavily framed in gilt, was a large portrait of the President in oil. On either side were similar portraits of Cleveland, Hancock, Tilden, Hendricks and ex-Governor Marriaduke, of Missouri.

AMERICAN FLAGS IN PROFUSION.

The balcony and gallery pillars and the face of the long winding galleries and the fronts of the balconies were profusely decorated with American flags in alternate long and short festoons caught up with large red, white and blue rosettes. Festoons of American flags and red, white and blue bunting hung from the open woodwork supporting the roof, and the high graceful pillars which support the rafters were bound with encircling garlands and ropes of evergreens. Bending gracefully from the capitals of the columns which uphold the gallery were drooping branches of cedar and pine, and upon the faces of the columns above hung bannerettes bearing the arms of the States of the Union.

In the background along the hall was a more

elaborate attempt at decoration—a heroic statue of Washington on horseback, framed in a festoon of large American flags, which were caught in the centre of the frame above the head of the statue by an American shield surmounted by an American eagle with wide-spread pinions, grasping in his talons a sheaf of green wheat. The statue, which had the appearance of marble, was highly relieved by a background of rich, brown plush, silk draped curtains.

The first organized body to put in an appearance was the Cleveland Democracy, of Buffalo. It made a complete tour of the upper gallery, its handsome crimson banner leading the van and the fine band playing “Dixie.” It finally settled down just over the platform, in a splendid position to view everything and everybody in the hall. “Dixie” was followed by “The Red, White and Blue,” a medley, and the two bands at either end of the long hall played against each other until the Hendricks Club, of Indianapolis, joined the Buffalo men with another band. The crimson banner bearing Cleveland’s name and the blue velvet banner of the Indianians, bearing that of Hendricks, were hung from the gallery behind the presiding officer’s desk, in plain view of everybody, divided only by an eagle surmounting a shield. It was a pretty tribute to the old ticket and was greeted with rounds of applause. The hall began to fill up rapidly after this. The delegates were

the slowest in getting in. Some of them came singly, others in bodies. The Pennsylvania boys marched to the hall under the escort of the Randall Association, of Philadelphia, and its band.

THE OPENING SCENES.

When the Convention was called to order the scene was an inspiring one. Back of the delegates rose tier after tier of spectators, a vast, undulating sea of heads and faces. Up in the galleries the bright ribbons of the ladies and the highly-colored fans fluttered among the red, white and blue and the silver stars and the graceful folds of bunting. The morning was close and muggy and threatened rain, but when Chairman Barnum and Secretary Frederick O. Prince came upon the platform the sun burst through the clouds, and through the windows of the convention hall as well, and started out in regular earnest to heat up the atmosphere.

Hon. Stephen M. W. White, of California, was selected by the National Committee for Temporary Chairman. A committee escorted Mr. White amid great enthusiasm to the chair, and Mr. Barnum then introduced him to the Convention in the following words: "Gentlemen of the Convention, I have the pleasure and the honor to present to this Convention Stephen M. W. White, of California."

CHAIRMAN WHITE'S SPEECH.

Upon taking the chair Mr. White said :

Gentlemen of the Convention : Profoundly grateful for the distinction just conferred upon me, I am nevertheless conscious that I have been chosen for this position because of your appreciation of that important section of our common country from whence I come. I congratulate you not merely as Democrats, but as American citizens, on the encouraging circumstances which attend the inauguration of our proceedings.

Up to the late Presidential election the Republican party declared that Democratic success meant national ruin, and that whatever might be said of the crimes and transactions of those then in authority, yet to no other keeping could the welfare of the United States be safely confided. This doctrine was repudiated at the polls, and the experience of almost four years has demonstrated that those charges were unwarranted and that the people were right in demanding and compelling a radical change.

The platform of principles adopted at our last National Convention prescribed with accuracy the rules of conduct which should control governmental action. Grover Cleveland was selected by that Convention as a man whose firmness, ability, integrity and statesmanlike qualities pre-eminently fitted him to undertake the task of carrying out the great reforms thus suggested by the organization to whose tenets he had ever been ready to yield compliance. No public servant ever responded to the call of duty more fully or in better faith than our honored President. Unostentatious in the discharge of his trust, he has never failed to apply to affairs of state those sound business maxims the observance of which is even more necessary in public than in private station.

For years it had been generally conceded that it was necessary to reform the tariff. The existing law on the subject had been called into being during the excitement and because of the exigencies of war. The Republican party, while not denying the necessity for reform, has ever failed to suggest any remedy and has universally thwarted the efforts of the Democracy to afford the needed relief.

The present administration has realized the promises made by the Democratic Convention of 1884. It has sought to reduce taxation and lighten the burdens of the people and to reduce the revenue so as to prevent undue accumulation in the treasury, and has at the same time taken the requisite steps to foster and protect domestic industries. It has discouraged the centralization of wealth and has enabled, so far as circumstances would permit, those in the less favored walks of life to enjoy the benefits of their exertions. In other words, the Democratic administration has set its utmost endeavors to carry out the platform on which our great reform victory was achieved. If the tariff has not been modified it is because of Republican obstruction. A new generation has come upon the scene. They love their country better than the delusion of an empty name. They know that the glory and advancement of the republic is dependent on general co-operation. While they glory in their fathers' heroic deeds they yet believe that unkind words and exaggerated references to the past are not promotive of present harmony, of future prosperity, and that an administration which treats alike and recognizes that there is no distinction before the law of race or section is best calculated to further the general interest and to perpetuate the blessings of liberty.

The honest, intelligent elector whose judgment is untainted by prejudice is prepared to again entrust this government to the Democratic party. That that party has accomplished so much, notwithstanding the continued opposition of its foes, is ample evidence that during the next four years its policy will be finally and completely adopted. The coming contest will result in the triumph of Democracy. The nominees of this Convention will be the chosen representatives of the people, and if we do our duty the Republican party will henceforward be unable to retard the progress of our country.

A GIFT FROM COLORADO.

Mr. Patterson, of Colorado, rose in behalf of the Colorado Democracy and held in his hand a handsome silver gavel. He said :

I crave the indulgence of this Convention to present to it for use by its chairman a solid silver gavel. It was wrought from Colorado mines and fashioned by Colorado artisans. It is the modest offering of the youngest member of the Federal Union to that party that restored silver to the monetary plane from which it was degraded through the Republican Congressional conspiracy of 1873, and that has ever since remained its consistent champion. May the announcement be made to the civilized world through its silvery tones of the second unanimous nomination of the people's choice for President—Grover Cleveland. [Great applause.]

“If there is no objection,” said the chairman, “and I assume that there will be none, this pres-

ent will be deemed accepted. It is solid silver and as far as gavel can do it you will have to be ruled by silver." [Great applause.]

THE ENTHUSIASM FOR THURMAN.

Just before the gavel was brought into use there was a scene which made things interesting for a few minutes. California started it apparently on a prearranged plan. One of the delegates from that State made a liberty cap out of a red bandanna and placed it upon the top of the delegation banner. In a moment the air was filled with red handkerchiefs. They were quickly tied to the ends of umbrellas and canes and waved frantically in the air amid tremendous applause.

The movement was catching. Nevada also hoisted the red handkerchief to the top of its banner pole ; West Virginia hastened to get into line, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, Missouri, Arkansas, Massachusetts, Florida and Wisconsin swung out the distinguishing badge of the Thurman movement, and cheers greeted every one that was unfurled.

After the appointment of several committees, the Convention adjourned to 10 o'clock on Wednesday, June 6.

The delegates were slow in gathering for the second day's session of the Democratic National Convention. The galleries were filled long before the factors in the selection of a President and

Vice-President had begun to arrive. It was hot—insufferably so—and thousands of fans of all shapes, sizes and colors began an early campaign against the heat. There was the same vast assemblage—the beauties of St. Louis in the boxes of the national committee-men, the privileged spectators in the two immense galleries and an array of men way back upon the tiers of seats behind the delegates and alternates. Many of these removed their coats and vainly endeavored to keep cool. It was an almost useless undertaking, and long before the Convention was called to order ten thousand spectators were sweltering in the kind of atmosphere that St. Louis people know all about.

THE CENTRE OF INTEREST.

Interest among the delegates had been running all day to the platform. The committee on resolutions was still wrestling with it at 10 o'clock, and the various delegations hung upon the cable cars with precarious footholds or struggled panting and breathless along the pavements to the hall without knowing what was going to happen. The spectators grew impatient and watched eagerly for any diversion. If any one among them picked out a prominent delegate as the latter strayed along the aisles, he was sure to raise a cheer which the others took up.

“The Convention will come to order,” pro-

claimed Chairman White, at half-past ten o'clock, and there was a scurrying along the aisles for seats.

The Rev. J. P. Green, of Missouri, asked for God's blessing upon the Convention.

GENERAL COLLINS CHOSEN.

Mr. Cassidy, of Pennsylvania, then arose and said: "I am instructed by the committee to report that they have unanimously agreed upon General Patrick A. Collins, of Massachusetts, for permanent chairman." [Cheers.] After the cheers which came with the announcement of General Collins' selection had subsided the secretary read the list of vice-presidents and the representatives of each State to notify the nominees of the Convention of its results. The following report was then unanimously adopted:

The order of business of the last National Democratic Convention shall obtain, and the rules of said Convention shall govern this Convention with the modification, viz.:

That no State shall change its vote for President or Vice-President until call of the States has been completed. Your committee further recommend that there cording secretaries, reading clerks, official stenographers and sergeants-at-arms of the temporary organization hold their offices under the permanent organization.

LEWIS C. CASSIDY, Chairman.

JOHN B. CASTLEMAN, Secretary.

MR. COLLINS TAKES THE CHAIR.

The chair appointed William H. Barnum, of

Connecticut; Roswell P. Flower, of New York, and John O'Day, of Missouri, as a committee to escort Patrick A. Collins to the chair.

This announcement produced uproarious applause throughout the Convention, which was continued especially by the Massachusetts delegation, whose members arose and stood upon their chairs and gave three times three for their favorite. The gentlemen appointed to escort Mr. Collins to the chair proceeded to his seat and brought him forward. When Mr. Collins had mounted the platform he was greeted by a shake of the hands by Mr. White, the temporary chairman, after which the chairman said :

Gentlemen of the Convention, thaking you for the favor which you have accorded me and for the great consideration which has been extended to me during the time I have presided over your deliberations as temporary presiding officer, I take pleasure in introducing to you your permanent presiding officer, the Hon. Patrick A. Collins, of Massachusetts.

This moment was the occasion of another outburst of applause, which lasted so long that cries of "Sit down, sit down," were heard from different parts of the hall.

After paying an eloquent tribute to the principles enunciated by Jefferson, "which," the orator said, "guide us still in our onward march as a free and prosperous people," Mr. Collins continued :

True to these principles, the Democratic party fought successfully our foreign wars, protected our citizens in every clime, compelled the respect of all nations for our flag, added imperial domain to our territory and insured peace, prosperity and happiness to all our people. False to these principles, the great Federal, Whig and Know-Nothing parties went down, never to rise, and we are here to-day representatives of the party that has survived all others, the united, triumphant, invincible Democracy, prepared to strike down forever the last surviving foe in November.

Our standard must be the rallying-point now and in the future for all good citizens who love and cherish republican institutions, who love liberty regulated by the Constitution and law, who believe in a government not for a class or for a few, but a government of all the people by all the people, and for all the people. This has been the asylum for all good men from over the earth who flee from want and oppression and mean to become Americans. But we invite and welcome only "friends to this ground and liegemen" to the Republic. Our institutions cannot change to meet hostile wishes nor be so much as sensibly modified save by the peaceful and deliberate action of the mass of our people in accordance with the Constitution and the laws of the land. We owe it to our political institutions, to Democratic teachings, at least as much as to the exuberant soil. The man is not a good American who, knowing what we are, by act or word, experiment or thought, in any way will attempt to weaken the foundation of this splendid structure—the Republic of the United States.

We meet to-day under conditions new to the Democrats of this generation. How often we stood in conventions in the past when to others it seemed as if the shadows of death closed about us, when the day of victory seemed almost as far away as the day of general judgment. It could not then be said that we met for spoils or personal advantage. We met to keep the fires of Democratic liberty alive till the dawn of a better day. If we were a party of misfortune, it must also be agreed that we were a party of undaunted courage and inflexible principles.

The Republican party—sometimes peacefully and sometimes by force; sometimes fairly and sometimes by fraud—succeeded in holding power twenty-four years, till at last the American people, no longer condoning its faults or forgiving its sins, hurled it from power and again committed to the historic party of the Constitution and the whole Union the administration of our political affairs.

We won by the well-earned confidence of the country in the rectitude of our purpose, by the aid of chivalrous and conscientious men who could no longer brook the corruptions of the Republican party. It was great, deserved, necessary victory.

The day on which Grover Cleveland, the plain, straightforward, typical American citizen chosen at the election, took the oath of office in the presence of the multitude, a day so lovely and so perfect that all nature seemed exuberantly to sanction and to celebrate the victory—that day marked the close of the old era and the beginning of a new one.

No president in time of peace had so difficult and laborious a duty to perform. His party had

been out of power for twenty-four years. Every member of it had been almost venomously excluded from the smallest post where administration could be studied. Every place was filled by men whose interest it was to thwart inquiry and belittle the new administration; but the master hand came to the helm, and the true course has been kept from the beginning.

We need not wait for time to do justice to the character and services of President Cleveland. Honest, clear-sighted, patient, grounded in respect for law and justice; with a thorough grasp of principles and situations; with marvelous and conscientious industry; the very incarnation of firmness—he has nobly fulfilled the promise of his party, nobly met the expectations of his country and written his name high on the scroll where future Americans will read the names of men who have been supremely useful to the Republic. Fellow Democrats, this is the initial meeting in a political campaign destined to be memorable. It will be a clashing of nearly even forces. Let no man here or elsewhere belittle or underestimate the strength or resources of the opposition. But, great as they are, the old Democratic party, in conscious strength and perfect union, faces the issue fearlessly.

Mr. Collins' speech was several times interrupted by enthusiastic applause.

When the time for making nominations arrived, and Alabama was called, the chairman of the delegation rose and gracefully yielded the floor to New York.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND NOMINATED.

Hon. Daniel Dougherty, to whom had been assigned the honor of making the nomination, stepped to the platform, and, after the applause that greeted his appearance subsided, spoke as follows :

I greet you, my countrymen, with fraternal regard ; in your presence I bow to the majesty of the people ; the sight itself is inspiring, the thought sublime. You come from every State and Territory, from every nook and corner of our ocean-bound, continent-covering country. You are about to discharge a more than imperial duty with simplest ceremonials. You, as representatives of the people, are to choose a magistrate with power mightier than a monarch, yet checked and controlled by the supreme law of a written Constitution.

Thus impressed, I ascend the rostrum to name the next President of the United States. New York presents him to the convention and pledges her electoral vote. Delegations from the thirty-eight States and all the Territories are assembled without caucus or consultation, ready simultaneously to take up the cry and make the vote unanimous. We are here not indeed to choose a candidate, but to name the one the people have already chosen.

He is the man for the people ; his career illustrates the glory of our institutions. Eight years ago unknown save in his own locality, he for the last four years has stood in the gaze of the world discharging the most exalted duties that can be confided to a mortal. To-day determines that

not of his own choice, but by the mandate of his countrymen and with the sanction of Heaven, he shall fill the Presidency for four years more.

He has met and mastered every question as if from youth trained to statesmanship. The promises of his letter of acceptance and inaugural address have been fulfilled. His fidelity in the past inspires faith in the future. He is not a hope. He is a realization.

Scorning subterfuge, disdaining re-election by concealing convictions, mindful of his oath of office to defend the Constitution, he courageously declares to Congress, dropping minor matters, that the supreme issue is reform, revision, reduction of national taxation; that the Treasury of the United States, glutted with unneeded gold, oppresses industry, embarrasses business, endangers financial tranquility and breeds extravagance, centralization and corruption. That high taxation, vital for the expenditures of an unparalleled war, is robbery in years of prosperous peace. That the millions that pour into the Treasury come from the hard earned savings of the American people. That in violation of equality of rights the present tariff has created a privileged class, who, shaping legislation for their personal gain, levy by law contributions for the necessities of life from every man, woman and child in the land. That to lower the tariff is not free trade. It is to reduce the unjust profits of monopolists and boss manufacturers and allow consumers to retain the rest.

The man who asserts that to lower the tariff means free trade insults intelligence. We brand him as a falsifier. It is furthest from thought

to imperil capital or disturb enterprises. The aim is to uphold wages and protect the rights of all.

This administration has rescued the public domain from would-be barons and cormorant corporations faithless to obligations and reserved it for free homes for this and coming generations.

There is no pilfering. There are no jobs under this administration. Public office is a public trust. Integrity stands guard at every post of our vast empire.

While the President has been the medium through which has flowed the undying gratitude of the Republic for her soldiers, he has not hesitated to withhold approval from special legislation if strictest inquiry revealed a want of truth and justice.

Above all, sectional strife, as never before, is at an end and 60,000,000 of freemen in the ties of brotherhood are prosperous and happy.

These are the achievements of this administration. Under the same illustrious leader we are ready to meet our political opponents in high and honorable debate and stake our triumph on the intelligence, virtue and patriotism of the people, adhering to the Constitution, its every line and letter, ever remembering that "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." By the authority of the Democracy of New York, backed by the Democracy of the entire Union, I give you a name entwined with victory. I nominate Grover Cleveland, of New York.

ENTHUSIASM AT WHITE HEAT.

Mr. Dougherty's speech in the Convention was

skilfully adapted to its purpose. Its simplicity was its strength. While the impression on reading it is one of extreme plainness, it will be seen that it is made up of a succession of short, emphatic periods, every one of which was an irresistible incentive to applause.

In this way the speech was suited to its subject. Mr. Cleveland is not a candidate to be presented in a blaze of fireworks. As Mr. Dougherty puts it, with an epigrammatic terseness suggestive of Cleveland himself, "He is not a hope; he is a realization." There was no need of rhetorical display to quicken the faith inspired by the man himself.

All accounts agree that the presentation of Mr. Cleveland's name was received in the Convention with an enthusiasm that has scarcely been excelled at the nomination of any of the most popular candidates of either party in the past, and this without any of that artificial excitement that is engendered by a contest. The fact is a very significant indication that Mr. Cleveland's leadership is not that of an official despot controlling unwilling slaves, as some Republican writers represent, still less a mere result of the accident of office, as is somewhat inconsistently suggested by the same class of his opponents, but that it has been fairly won by his personal strength and courage, and is freely and spontaneously accorded him by the great popular sentiment of his party.

WILD EXCITEMENT.

When Mr. Dougherty finished his speech, at six and a half minutes after 12, the delegates and the audience set up a yell. After simply yelling for half a minute they began to get enthused and some of the more ardent took off their coats and began waving them. About this time the door of the Capitol at the rear of the platform was swung aside and in the panel appeared a portrait of Cleveland occupying the centre of the façade of the Capitol.

Then the delegates and the audience simply went wild, and with a furious energy worked their voices in their efforts to show their approval of the nomination. A band somewhere in the galleries started up "Marching Through Georgia" and elicited a tremendous outbreak of cheers. At this time about a third of the delegates and perhaps a fourth of the audience produced bandanna handkerchiefs and waved them frantically, and in response to this fresh incentive there was an additional swell in the terrific outburst of noise. One man in the gallery took his new hat off and sent it sailing across the space over the heads of the delegates, and it was caught by a party in the opposite gallery with the expertness of a professional base-ball player.

A GREAT DEMONSTRATION.

After eight minutes of bedlam Chairman Col-

lins thought the thing had gone far enough and thumped and pounded for order, but with every thump of the gavel arose a new section of yells from the assemblage, and Chairman Collins relinquished the job in despair.

At this juncture Daniel Dougherty mounted a chair in the centre of the New York delegation and waved a flag. From all parts of the hall delegates gathered about Dougherty, bearing the standards of their respective States, and formed in a circle about him, holding in a sort of canopy over his head the placards bearing the names of the States.

In marked distinction from the scarlet bandannas, the standards of Indiana and Kansas were decorated with stripes of black silk, indicating the adherence of the parties who bore them to the cause of the present Commissioner of Pensions. Under the canopy formed by the standards a couple of United States flags were introduced, and the tableau as thus completed was greeted with a pandemoniac chorus of cheers and howls and yells.

Among the audience in the rear of the delegates a number of people produced a flock of big, yellow eagles, which, by some arrangement, were made to flap their wings.

When the demonstration at last subsided, John B. Castleman and A. G. Dejarnette, of Kentucky, carried the Kentucky standard on the platform

and planted it beside the chairman's desk to emphasize the second which Kentucky proposed on Grover Cleveland.

Eighteen minutes of unadulterated bedlam seemed to be enough to suit the delegates and they sank back into their seats, but the audience was not satisfied with the allotment of time and continued the uproar two minutes longer, when they were finally brought to order.

KENTUCKY'S SECOND.

Mr. McKenzie, of Kentucky, then took the platform and addressed the Convention as follows:

Gentlemen of the National Convention: I bear the commission of the State of Kentucky to this National Convention, and in the name of the Commonwealth that has given to that State a Clay and a Crittenden I desire to second the nomination of Grover Cleveland for the office of the Presidency of the United States. [Great applause and wild cheering.]

Within the broad limits of this great land there is but one more popular Democrat than he, and that is the queenly woman he has made his wife. [Great applause.] It must be, Mr. Chairman, a matter of felicitation to every good citizen within the limits of our land that the historic White House, around which cluster so many memories that are dear to every patriotic heart, is presided over by a man who has the courage to enforce obedience to bad laws until they be repealed and

recommend the enactment of good ones until they shall be enacted. [Applause.]

At the same time its social destinies are guided by the fair hand of the uncrowned queen of our American womanhood. I never intend to let Mrs. Cleveland out of this canvass. [Laughter and applause.] *In hoc signo vinces.* Eclipse first, the balance not placed. [Laughter and applause.]

The State of Kentucky loves Mr. Cleveland for the reason that he has had the courage to storm the entrenchments of subsidy and monopoly by recommending such a judicious revision of our tariff system as will secure equality in the distribution of the public burdens and lighten the exactions of labor. [Applause.]

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: I move to suspend the rules and make the nomination of Grover Cleveland for President of the United States absolutely unanimous. [Great applause.]

GEORGIA SPEAKS.

Judge H. D. D. Twiggs, of Georgia:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: The great State of Georgia, which I have the honor in part to represent on this occasion, is proud to second the nomination of Grover Cleveland. He has been conspicuous in his fidelity to the great principles of Democracy and economical government, which under our system of government have found their highest expression in his able, splendid and magnificent administration. [Applause.]

Gentlemen of the Convention: Monopoly has said to the people of the South, "You are poor; build up your factories, diversify your industries. Protection has made us opulent; it will make you likewise." The State of Georgia, already vocal with the music of a million spindles, has given back her reply. Lifting aloft her proud and untarnished shield, on which is inscribed her motto, "Wisdom, Justice and Moderation," she has said to this artful bribe: "We may be poor, but we are unwilling to grow rich by the levying of tribute upon the people." [Applause.]

Gentlemen of the Convention: The twenty-four delegates of Georgia have come to this conclusion, bearing with them but a single commission, and that commission is to cast the vote of the State for that matchless leader whom our late Convention in its platform of principles characterized as uniting the wisdom of Jefferson with the firmness of Jackson and the patriotism of Washington. [Cheers.] What is true of Georgia is true of every other Democratic State here represented, and it might be truthfully stated, gentlemen, that this vast and grand assemblage of patriots and Democrats may be called but a formal convocation assembled together to ratify the action of the sovereignties which have already spoken. [Cheers.] The great Democratic masses of the country, with elbows touching, have marched in solid and unbroken phalanx to this great city by the father of waters. Upon each flowing banner is inscribed but a solitary name, and that name has been their pillar of cloud by day and their pillar of fire by night. That name has been Grover Cleveland. [Cheers.]

With a mighty shout, yes, I say with a mighty shout, he will be proclaimed our next standard-bearer in the coming conflict. [Cheers.] The people at home are becoming rapidly educated, and we cannot be much longer kept in ignorance of the great truths and principles of which he is the splendid exponent. They will ratify that nomination at the polls, for as sure as the ides of November come the Republican party of the United States will have received its death-wound and final overthrow. [Applause.]

The Convention then adjourned to Thursday, June 7th, at 10 o'clock.

LAST DAY OF THE CONVENTION.

For the third time the Convention hall was packed. There must have been fully twelve thousand people within seeing distance of the platform. As usual the spectators were on hand early. It was the day of the only real chance for a contest, and there was an air of expectancy in the crowded galleries. Any kind of a fight would have been acceptable to the thousands of onlookers.

It was a pretty scene before the Convention was called to order. The fair faces of the belles of St. Louis peered over the gallery railings, and the three sections of seats on the floor divided by the two aisles, running the entire length of the hall, looked like so many immense toboggan slides. So dense was the mass of shining faces that they appeared almost like a bright and solid surface.

BANDANNAS EVERYWHERE.

The prevailing decoration was red. It cropped out everywhere. Everybody with a cane or an umbrella in the galleries had a bandanna on it. Here and there a patch of gray cambric marked a preference for the Indiana Governor, but the patches were made prominent only because of their scarcity in the vast garden of red. When the California people began to gather, their standard was promptly decorated with one of the bandannas they had brought from the Pacific with them. At this time the floor was in a state of confusion. All the delegates were on their feet. Delegation after delegation hoisted the red flag, cheered on by the salutes and huzzas of the galleries.

THURMAN'S NAME PRESENTED.

In proposing the name of Ex-Senator Thurman Delegate Tarpey, of California, said :

“That I am proud of the privilege of addressing you I acknowledge, but that I am prouder still of the man whom I shall name, I will not deny, for I feel, sirs, that this republic holds no superior to Hon. Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio.

“Allen G. Thurman ! What an epitome of American civil history is embodied in that name ! His character and ability are known to every man, woman and child in the land. His public services will be a more enduring monument than temples of stone or brass, for history will inscribe his name among the list of America's illustrious

sons. Large at heart, large of brain and larger still in experience, he is the man of all men whose record justifies his nomination at your hands in the sense that he cannot be defeated before the people.

“His fame is not his alone; it is the proud heritage of the American people. His name may be most fittingly coupled with that of our honored President, Grover Cleveland. Cleveland and Thurman will be a ticket absolutely invincible. It will sweep the country with a mighty rush, a tidal wave of approval. Against it all opposition will be fruitless. The approval of Cleveland’s administration during the past four years and indorsement of his actions, the simplicity, yet remarkable ability, with which he has administered his great trust under the most trying circumstances, coupled with the all-pervading affection felt for the philosopher of Columbus, will make Cleveland and Thurman a war-cry to affright the political enemy. The enthusiasm which will be aroused upon its announcement will be infectious, and gathering force and volume day by day it will be before the ides of November have become epidemic.

“They are both the favorite sons of their respective States, but when Allen G. Thurman, the favorite son of each and every State in this Union, in answer to the universal demand for his acceptance, consents to leave the peace and tranquility of his fire-side and again serve his grateful countrymen, so prominent, so colossal is his political and mental figure in the public eye that all others must of necessity share in its immensity.

“Let us make no mistake. As representatives of the Democracy of the nation we have a duty to perform. Let no consideration of personal friend-

ship or glamour of locality influence your action. Broad ground must be taken. The man of the nation, not the man of the State, must be nominated.

“Nominate Allen G. Thurman. Nominate him by acclamation. Let it not be said that one single Democrat in all this great Union failed in this testimonial to the greatest American of his day, the noblest breathing man upon American soil, fit consort in the temple of fame of those patriots of the past, the founders of our institutions, whose sacred dust lies calmly sleeping beneath the sods of Mount Vernon, Monticello and the Hermitage, awaiting the dedication of our national Pantheon.”

SECONDING THURMAN'S NAME.

Governor Green, of New Jersey, said that the shores of the Atlantic re-echoed the call of the Pacific coast. New Jersey, which brought nine electoral votes in one hand, without making any demand—New Jersey seconded the nomination of Allen G. Thurman. [Applause.]

Mr. Dorsey, of Nevada, voiced the sentiments of the Democracy of Nevada in indorsing the ticket of Cleveland and Thurman. The mountains of Nevada would fairly rattle with joy when the news of Thurman's nomination was flashed across the wires. [Applause.]

Mr. Raines, of New York, was greeted with cheers when he took the stand to make known the position of his State delegation. New York,

he said, had withdrawn herself until this moment. But the time had arrived for her voice to be heard in unison with the acclaim of her fellow delegations from Maine to the capes of the Western Sea, in behalf of him who was the Plato of the Republic. The battle line of the coming conflict extended across the continent. The forces of the Democracy would reach across the continent, and over the reserve corps would wave the flag of Allen G. Thurman. [Applause.]

T. E. Powell, of Ohio, followed briefly but earnestly. It was claimed, he said, that the universal cry for Thurman was but a sentiment of the heart. That might be so, but it was the grandest sentiment that ever occupied the Democratic party.

Mr. Dawson, of South Carolina, said that it had been said that President Cleveland was both a candidate and a platform, but he proposed to present to the Convention a name for the Vice-Presidency which is a history and a prophecy.

Mr. Thompson, of Tennessee, also seconded the nomination of Thurman, saying that the South, of all other sections of this country, should hasten to do honor to this grand old man whose arms had ever been raised to defend a stricken people. His red bandanna had been a banner of hope to the despairing; let it now be a banner of victory for the united Democracy of the country.

Ex-Governor Throckmorton, of Texas, said he

represented a divided delegation upon the question of a Vice-Presidential candidate, but he was none the less enthusiastic in his support of Ohio's grand old man. Texas would give the ticket 200,000 majority with Allen G. Thurman as one of the nominees.

Virginia having been called, Senator Daniel ascended the platform. The old and the young Democracy of the Old Dominion, he said, would join in the great acclaim of the American people when they would speak again in November next for Allen G. Thurman. (Applause.) He described the services of Thurman to the Democratic party and to the country; and especially commended to California's attention Thurman's attitude on the Chinese question. It was said that the grand old man was old. But no hair glistened on his brow that had not grown white in Democratic service. The years that had circled round his head had each one of them left in its track a new ring of glory. In the name of the people of Virginia, on whose soil Thurman was born; in the name of Ohio, his adopted home; in the name of the Democracy of the great nation, incorruptible, unterrified, unconquerable, he gave to the banner and the breeze the semblance of his name. As Mr. Daniel concluded he waved a large bandanna, and was enthusiastically cheered.

Mr. Thurman was then nominated on the first ballot, 97 votes being cast for Gov. Gray, of Indiana.

The "Old Roman's" nomination was then made unanimous.

THE PLATFORM.

The following is the full text of the platform adopted by the Democratic National Convention :

"The Democratic party of the United States in National Convention assembled renews the pledge of its fidelity to Democratic faith, and reaffirms the platform adopted by its representatives in the Convention of 1884 ; and indorses the views expressed by President Cleveland in his last annual message to Congress as the correct interpretation of that platform upon the question of tariff reduction, and also indorses the efforts of our Democratic representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation. Chief among its principles of party faith are the maintenance of an indissoluble union of free and indestructible States, now about to enter upon its second century of unexampled progress and renown, devotion to a plan of government regulated by a written constitution strictly specifying every granted power and expressly reserving to the States or people the entire ungranted residue of power ; the encouragement of a jealous popular vigilance, directed to all who have been chosen for brief terms to enact and execute the laws, and are charged with the duty of preserving peace, ensuring equality and establishing justice.

THE PUBLIC DEBT AND LANDS.

"The Democratic party welcome an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive

power, which four years ago was committed to its trusts in the election of Grover Cleveland President of the United States, but it challenges the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrage of the people. During a most critical period of our financial affairs, resulting from overtaxation, the anomalous condition of our currency and public debt unmaturing. It has, by the adoption of a wise and conservative course, not only avoided a disaster, but greatly promoted the prosperity of the people.

“It has reversed the improvident and unwise policy of the Republican party touching the public domain, and has reclaimed from corporations and syndicates, alien and domestic, and restored to the people nearly one hundred million acres of valuable land to be sacredly held as homesteads for our citizens.

PENSIONS AND SUFFRAGE.

“While carefully guarding the interests of the tax-payers and conforming strictly to the principles of justice and equity, it has paid out more for pensions and bounties to the soldiers and sailors of the republic than was ever paid before during an equal period. It has adopted and consistently pursued a firm and prudent foreign policy, preserving peace with all nations, while scrupulously maintaining all the rights and interests of our own government and people at home and abroad. The exclusion from our shores of Chinese laborers has been effectually secured under the provision of a treaty, the operation of which has been postponed by the action of a Republican majority in the Senate.

“ Honest reform in the civil service has been inaugurated and maintained by President Cleveland, and he has brought the public service to the highest standard of efficiency, not only by rule and precept, but by the example of his own untiring and unselfish administration of public affairs.

“ In every department and branch of the government under Democratic control the rights and the welfare of all the people have been guarded and defended ; every public interest has been protected, and the equality of all our citizens before the law, without regard to race or color, has been steadfastly maintained. Upon its record thus exhibited and upon the pledge of a continuance to the people of these benefits the Democracy invokes a renewal of popular trust by the re-election of a Chief Magistrate who has been faithful, able and prudent. We invoke an addition to that trust by the transfer also to the Democracy of the entire legislative power.

NEEDLESS TAXATION.

“ The Republican party, controlling the Senate and resisting in both houses of Congress a reformation of unjust and unequal tax laws, which have outlasted the necessities of war and are now undermining the abundance of a long peace, deny to the people equality before the law and the fairness and the justice which are their right. Then the cry of American labor for a better share in the rewards of industry is stifled with false pretences, enterprise is fettered and bound down to home markets, capital is discouraged with doubt, and unequal and unjust laws can neither be promptly amended nor repealed

“The Democratic party will continue with all the power confided to it the struggle to reform these laws in accordance with the pledges of its last platform, indorsed at the ballot-box by the suffrages of the people. Of all the illustrious freemen of our land the immense majority, including every tiller of the soil, gain no advantage from excessive tax laws, but the price of nearly everything they buy is increased by the favoritism of an unequal system of tax legislation. All unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation.

TRUSTS AND CORPORATIONS.

“It is repugnant to the creed of Democracy that by such taxation the cost of the necessities of life should be unjustifiably increased to all our people.

“Judged by Democratic principles, the interests of the people are betrayed when, by unnecessary taxation, trusts and combinations are permitted to exist, which, while unduly enriching the few that combine, rob the body of our citizens, by depriving them of the benefits of natural competition. Every Democratic rule of governmental action is violated when, through unnecessary taxation, a vast sum of money, far beyond the needs of an economical administration, is drawn from the people and the channels of trade and accumulated as a demoralizing surplus in the National Treasury.”

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF ALLEN G. THURMAN.

CHAPTER XIV.

MR. THURMAN'S CAREER.

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE—REMOVAL TO OHIO—ACADEMIC EDUCATION—HABITS OF INDUSTRY—"RIGHT-ANGLED-TRIANGLED THURMAN"—ADMITTED TO THE BAR—PRIVATE SECRETARY TO GOVERNOR LUCAS—PARTNER IN WILLIAM ALLEN'S LAW FIRM—ELECTED TO CONGRESS—MEMBER OF THE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE—CHIEF JUSTICE OF OHIO—DEFEATED FOR GOVERNOR—SENT TO UNITED STATES SENATE—PROMINENT IN CONGRESS—FIDELITY TO PUBLIC DUTIES—RETIREMENT TO PRIVATE LIFE—INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS—THE KIND OF DEMOCRAT THURMAN IS—THE "RED BANDANNA"—SNUFF AND HANDKERCHIEFS.

ALLEN G. THURMAN was born in Lynchburg, Va., November 13, 1813. He came of good stock. His grandfather was a Baptist clergyman, who owned by inheritance and otherwise a considerable number of slaves, but who early in life became imbued with such just notions in regard to personal liberty and the general question of slavery that he determined to embrace the first favorable opportunity of setting his human chattels free.

Cherishing such notions in regard to one of the established institutions of the country and the people among whom he lived, he soon found that the atmosphere of "the old Dominion" was anything but a congenial one. Fully realizing this, he at last made up his mind to emigrate to Ohio.

When young Allen Granberry Thurman was six years of age the family removed to the thriving little city of Chillicothe, in Ohio. Arriving there, his father, who had been intended for a preacher, secured employment in teaching school, and upon the institution in which he was so occupied the boy became a regular attendant. Later on, his father in the meantime having engaged in the business of wool manufacture—then a prominent one in the locality—Allen went to attend the Chillicothe High School, and during the year 1825 entered the old Chillicothe Academy, which, at that time, boasted of a standard equal to that of many modern colleges.

During this period of his life young Allen acquired those habits of industry and close study which have ever since been characteristic of him. His mother, a half-sister of the man who afterwards became the great Governor Allen, was, in many respects, a remarkable woman. Following her example and her monitions, and with her consent, the boy, even then hardly in his teens, was accustomed to sit up until late at night studying or reciting his lessons to her. He advanced rapidly at school and soon became so absorbed and proficient in mathematics that his schoolmates gave him the familiar name of "Right-angled-triangled" Thurman.

ADMITTED TO THE BAR.

Many of his friends advised him to go into the land-agency business, by pursuing which it was undoubted that he would have made a considerable fortune. His mother, however, and his uncle, William Allen, who had begun to make his mark in the State, insisted that he should take up the study of law, and he at last yielded to their wishes. As a result of this arrangement he entered the law office of his uncle and remained with him three years. At the end of that time, when he was twenty-one years old, and the famous Governor Lucas was chief magistrate of Ohio, that gentleman wrote to him from Columbus, asking young Thurman to accept the position of private-secretary to the governor. The opportunity to see more of life and get a better understanding of politics and the politicians of the time was too good a one to be lost, and with the concurrence of his friends he at once accepted the position and went to the capital. Arrived there, he immediately assumed the duties of the secretaryship, and at the same time entered the law office of the distinguished Judge Swayne. Business at the executive chamber was conducted in those days after a very different fashion from the methods of to-day. Governor Lucas was in his office at 8 o'clock every morning, and expected his secretary at the same hour. There they remained until 8 o'clock at night, during most of which time they were engaged in performing the duties which, in these later and more affluent days of progress, require the services of numerous clerks. Still, despite the hard services he was in this way compelled to perform, the young man found time at night to read

law and to work out legal problems submitted to him from time to time by Judge Swayne. Indeed, he seems at this period of his life to have found time for everything except to sleep, for four or five hours in bed out of the daily twenty-four were all that he allowed himself.

After being admitted to the bar young Thurman went at once to Chillicothe, and, being most fortunate in his connections, was not obliged to undergo the hardship of hoping against hope for his first client; on the contrary, he was immediately admitted into a partnership with his uncle, William Allen, who in the meantime had made himself a prominent figure not only in State but national affairs. By this association he found himself without delay in possession of one of the best practices in Ohio.

ELECTED TO CONGRESS.

Shortly after he had entered upon his profession his uncle and partner, William Allen, became so entirely absorbed in politics that he abandoned his profession entirely and left the work of the office to be done by Thurman. The young man who was thus suddenly called on to assume great responsibility acquitted himself remarkably, winning the warmest approbation from distinguished men in his own profession and out of it. His circuit embraced four counties, and it is noteworthy that during ten years in no one of them did he ever miss a term of court; and, during all that time, it is still further remarkable that he did not ride 100 miles on wheels. All his journeys, like those of his fellow-practitioners, were made on horseback over the dirt roads, which were then the

only means of travel in that portion of the country.

Among those who practised with Thurman at that time were William Creighton, Judge Scott, Benjamin F. Leonard (who afterwards died in an insane asylum), Henry Stanberry, and others, who were then or afterwards became well known throughout the nation. Of this great bar Thurman was the youngest member; yet it is no exaggeration to say that he held his own with the best of his associates. To do this, however, he was obliged to work indefatigably, and it is a fact that during all this period of his life he never slept more than six hours a day, all the remaining hours of the twenty-four being devoted to office work, court practice, or home study. Becoming thus early prominent at the bar, it was only natural that he should be regarded as a fit subject for political honors. From his early boyhood he had taken interest in public affairs, and by inclination and association was from the outset an earnest and outspoken Democrat. Later on he always did his full political duty and took a prominent part in the canvasses of his county, but always in favor of persons other than himself. Two or three times he was solicited to be a candidate for the legislature, and each time refused, as he did also a proposition which was made to him to accept a nomination for a judicial position. He declared, very wisely, that he could not afford to run for office, and that he believed no poor man should accept honors which he had not the means adequately to support.

Holding these views, he continued to practice his profession with almost unvarying success be-

fore the courts, but with only moderate success financially. In 1844, while he was in Kentucky on legal business, the Democratic Convention of the Congressional district in which he lived, without his knowledge and entirely without his solicitation, nominated him for Congress. Returning to Chillicothe, and learning for the first time what had been done, he was, for very much the reasons already explained, on the point of declining to serve. From this intention he was dissuaded, and, having accepted the nomination, he entered, with all the energy that was characteristic of him, into the contest. He made a close canvass of the whole district, spoke everywhere, often taking part in joint discussions against his Whig opponent, John J. Van Meter, and yet, strange to say, never exchanged one unkind or disrespectful word with him or any other opponent.

The result of his canvass was his triumphant election. Of his services during the term of Congress which followed it is, perhaps, only necessary to say that he at once took high rank on the Judiciary Committee, and made speeches still remembered as able upon the Oregon question and the Mexican war.

CHIEF-JUSTICE AND SENATOR.

This work he continued until he was elected—of course on the Democratic ticket—to the Supreme Court of Ohio. He remained for four years on the bench, for the last two years of his term being the Chief-Justice. During this time he rendered many opinions which are now always cited as authority undoubted and not to be questioned. Among these may be mentioned, as

familiar to all lawyers, his famous opinion in the cases of Cross against Dillon and Bloom against Richard.

Still, and despite his great success as a Judge, he declined a re-election, his reason being that the salary was too small to support him, and because, while holding official position, he never allowed himself to increase his income by any practice or enterprise of a private character. Going back to the law, after his four years on the bench, he found his reputation to have increased so rapidly that his practice was almost greater than he could attend to. Fortunately, his receipts were in keeping with the extent of his business, and in time he amassed a competence. Encouraged by these results, he continued with the utmost industry to practice his profession until 1867, when, almost without a struggle worthy of the name, he received the unanimous nomination of the Democratic Convention to be Governor of Ohio. Ex-President Hayes was his opponent, and for sixty-five successive days, in one of the most exciting and closely contested campaigns the State had ever known, they appeared upon the stump. Thurman was defeated, but he had the satisfaction of knowing that he cut down the Republican majority from 43,000, which it had been the year before, to less than 3,000.

RECORD ON THE WAR ISSUE.

During the campaign it was frequently asserted, and perhaps in some quarters believed, that he had been opposed to the war of the Union. In regard to that matter, it need only be said that until the war was actually declared Mr. Thurman

was strongly opposed to it, and used every influence he had to prevent it. After hostilities had actually commenced, however, he was quite as earnest in urging that those who were opposed to the National Government should be defeated and put down as speedily as possible. His argument was simply that if the South had the right to leave the Union, then the Union was at war with a foreign power, while, on the other hand, if the South had no right of secession, then the war was an insurrection. In either case he held that all the means at the command of the Federal Government should be employed to put an end to it. At the same time, however, to use exactly his own words, without attempting to tell exactly what they signify, he did not believe that it was necessary to violate the Constitution in order to preserve the Union.

Though defeated for the Governorship, as stated, the election was not without results agreeable to Mr. Thurman. Though Mr. Hayes was successful, the Legislature elected with him was Democratic, and that Legislature lost no time in making Thurman a United States Senator, to take the place which had been occupied by that Republican of Republicans, sturdy "Ben" Wade. When he took his seat there were only seven Democrats in the upper house. They were Messrs. Garrett Davis, McCreary, of Kentucky; Casserly, Vickers, of Maryland; Bayard, Stockton, of New Jersey; and Thurman. The latter soon took high position among his colleagues, and as early as 1869 made a speech on the so-called Georgia bill, which attracted general attention and was justly regarded as the official announcement that the Democratic

party of the South, for the first time since before the war, was to fall into line with the organization in other parts of the reunited nation. His speech on the Geneva Award bill, and also on the Pacific Railway Funding bill, attracted much notice and applause. It is only justice to state that by the passage of his bill in regard to the railroads in question the Government was saved a very large sum of money. But not only this; by the passage of that bill there was for all time established that wholesome precedent which teaches that the Government is the master of corporations of its own creating. If he never performed any service but this, Senator Thurman would still be entitled to the unstinted praise of his countrymen. But he performed many other services. He set an example of hard work in official life which many more pretentious men might follow with advantage both to themselves and their constituents. It can with truth be said of him that he never on any account neglected his public duties.

LIFE IN RETIREMENT.

Mr. Thurman served a double term in the Senate, and then retired to private life, practising his profession as successfully as before. He was especially prominent in the Bell patent contest, being therein, as always, a stern foe of monopolies. He was again nominated by the Democratic caucus of the Ohio Legislature for Senator in 1886, but was defeated. In 1884 his name was brought forward for the Presidential nomination, but with small avail, as the ballotings given elsewhere for the office of President show. The ex-Senator was in November, 1887, tendered a place on the

Interstate Commerce Commission, but declined it, saying he was too old and feeble, and had made a resolve never to be again tempted to take office. A short time before this he had expressed similar sentiments in an address to the "Thurman Club" of Cincinnati, which had tendered him a serenade. This little speech may as a curiosity be reproduced here. Mr. Thurman said :

"My Young Friends : When I was a boy at school many years ago, one of the text-books I studied was a Latin one, *Cicero on Old Age*, and I remember well when I read that beautiful treatise in which the author sets forth in the most beautiful and impressive manner that consummation in old age which would in some degree be a compensation for the trials of youth, I wondered if that lot would ever be mine. Now, when I look down upon your heads and see your bright faces and know who you are and what you are, I feel something of regret that the old author never had a Ciceronian Club to honor and console him in his old age, as you have mine. I thank you, first, for the honor you have done an old man in taking his name for your club; and, second, for the kindness you have manifested towards me by your attendance to-night and your beautiful serenade. My friends, no one can say you are worshipping a rising sun. No; it is a setting sun, low down in the horizon, and fast disappearing forever. I shall never hold another office, nor shall I ever be a candidate for office; hence it will not be in my power to reward my friends or to punish my foes. You come without hope or fear in that respect, merely to honor an old fellow who from boyhood has been a Democrat, and who until his dying day

will be a Democrat, and who is pleased not to be forgotten while he still lives. It is my pride and boast that I have always been a strong and steadfast adherent of the principles of Democracy, and when my dying day comes, as soon it must, and my eyes are turned to behold the sun in the heavens for the last time, it will be the eyes of a Democrat that will look upon that orb. And when I am under the sod, and some one stumbles over my grave, there will he find the epitaph: 'Here lies a man who was an honest Democrat his whole life long.'"

INDIVIDUAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Of his private life and his relations with his associates in the Senate it is only necessary to say that during twelve years of service Mr. Thurman never had an angry word with any of them, and that he went as he came, a comparatively poor man. He went regretted by all who knew him in Washington—regretted particularly by many prominent Republicans who knew him best and who rejoiced most heartily at President Garfield's graceful and unsolicited action in appointing him to the International Monetary Conference. His rugged face, blunt speech and earnest manner will long be missed in the Senate chamber. He is a bitter partisan, and he may have gone astray on the money question, but even his bitterest enemy cannot deny that he was always an honest public servant, that he worked faithfully in what he believed to be the right direction, and that he has done very much to elevate the tone of political discussion in the United States.

THURMAN'S DEMOCRACY.

Thurman's Democracy has always been of the staunchest and most loyal kind. Coming into public life in 1836, he was an advocate of the Jacksonian doctrine of "hard money" as against the so-called "soft" or "shin-plaster" bank money advocated by the Whigs of that time. He was originally opposed to the law making "greenbacks" a legal tender. Later, while in the Senate, he opposed the law for the resumption of specie payments; but did not indorse the Ohio Democratic platform denouncing the contraction of the currency and postponing resumption indefinitely. He favored the bi-metallic standard of gold and silver, and helped to make the popular phrase, "the dollar of the daddies." It was out of compliment to his firm conservative adherence to hard-money principles that he was appointed on the International Metallic Conference by President Garfield.

Although Thurman has spent his life in politics, he has never voluntarily sought office. He firmly believes that the office should seek the man, and not the man the office. In manners Thurman is by nature the perfect gentleman of the old school, and by taste and education more of a scholar than a politician. He is well versed in mathematics and the classics, and a fluent reader and speaker of French and other modern languages. Although to-day perhaps one of the most conspicuous figures in national politics, he is at the same time one of the most modest and unassuming men in the country.

ROMANCE OF THE "RED BANDANNA."

The Thurman bandanna, the handkerchief which is likely to figure extensively in the coming campaign, has its own romance. In 1824, when Thurman was eleven years old, there arrived in Chillicothe an erratic, but accomplished French emigrant, Emil Gregorie, who subsequently became known as the "Professor." He had been intended for the Catholic priesthood, but while in his studies for holy orders he fell desperately in love with a young girl below him in social standing. Against the entreaties of his friends, he abandoned all thoughts of the priesthood, and finally married the girl. He had means, and under the advice of American agents in Paris, he concluded to invest in West Virginia lands. Like the ill-fated Blennerhassett, who bought an island in the Ohio river, he thought to establish an Oriental paradise in the West. His young wife gave birth to a daughter and died.

Taking the child, the grief-stricken father named it Virginie, and came with it to found a home in the New World. When he found his lands were an unbroken wilderness his disappointment knew no bounds. He wandered about the savage borderlands of the West until he reached Chillicothe, where he found employment as a teacher of French. Mrs. Thurman, Allen's mother, heard of him and his ability, and took care of the child in exchange for French lessons for her son. The grateful Parisian gave young Thurman most assiduous attention, but among other accomplishments taught him the habit of taking snuff, and the French use of "the handkerchief." At first Thurman could speak no French and Virginie no English. But

they soon acquired a vocabulary of common phrases, and became constant companions and steadfast friends. Thurman's first grief came when M. Gregorie received a favorable offer to go to Louisiana, then a province of Spain. Much to the regret of both the young people, he accepted the invitation, and left Chillicothe for "the Spanish territory." For a while Thurman was disconsolate, and even gave up "snuff." But on coming to Congress afterwards he found the habit prevailing, with "snuff" on the Congressional free list, and so he fell into the habit again. Formerly a flourish of the bandanna in Chillicothe was equivalent to saying, "Come into court." In the present campaign it will undoubtedly mean, "Sound the Slogan!"



CHAPTER XV.

MR. THURMAN'S NOMINATION RECEIVED WITH EN- THUSIASM.

EXCITEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AT WASHINGTON—WHAT THE "NEW YORK TIMES" SAID—THE "SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER" ON THE NOMINATION—WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENTS AT COLUMBUS—JUDGE THURMAN'S SPEECH—THURMAN CLUB OF COLUMBUS ENDORSE THE NOMINEE—ANOTHER SPEECH BY THURMAN—ESTIMATE OF THE CANDIDATE BY ROSWELL P. FLOWER—WHAT GOVERNOR GRAY HAS TO SAY.

THE announcement of Thurman's nomination was read in the House with uproarious enthusiasm. As if by preconcerted arrangement, bandannas were waved by the whole Democratic side amid the loud hurrahs and clapping of hands, in which the Republicans also joined. Biggs, of California, waved his hands frantically through the air and cried out something about Oregon being redeemed next November, but it was impossible to distinguish his words in the uproar. Outhwaite, of Ohio, appeared at the clerk's desk with a large picture of the "Old Roman." He draped it with a red silk handkerchief and the House broke out once more in great applause. Bandannas were

waved vigorously from the galleries, and it was a long while before order was restored.

Referring to the St. Louis Convention, the New York *Times* said

“The Democratic party has put two able and trusted men before the country as its candidates, we may fairly say its two ablest and most trusted, and it enters upon the contest for the Presidency upon a platform unusually sound, temperate and manly. Beyond question, Mr. Thurman’s name brings greater strength to the ticket than the name of any other man the Democratic party could have nominated for Vice-President. He is in the best sense of the word a distinguished man. His positive achievements in public life are sufficiently numerous and noteworthy to entitle him to a place among the statesmen of the country. His character is beyond reproach and his public record well nigh unassailable. It is an inspiring candidacy far beyond the wont of nominations for the Vice-Presidency, for Mr. Thurman commands the respect and veneration of his party, while Republicans in high places have many times laid aside the customary narrowness of the partisan to speak of him in terms of praise. It can no longer be said of Mr. Cleveland that he is untried in national affairs or that he shows or has shown any weakness or tendency to error due to a lack of experience, but Mr. Thurman has in full measure what Mr. Cleveland lacked four years ago; and since to experience he joins dignity and puts some value upon the esteem and respect of the people of the country, his accession, should he be elected, to the chair of the presiding officer of the Senate

will be a welcome relief from the possible continuance therein of its present unworthy occupant."

The *Examiner*, of San Francisco, said :

"The nomination of Thurman has proved, even more strikingly than that of Cleveland, that when the people of this country have made up their minds to a thing they will have, their politicians may as well stand aside. Thurman means victory. He is the incarnation of the spirit new and yet old, which breathes through a fearless platform and recalls the great days of Democracy before defeat had taught it to apologize for its principles. The Pacific coast has nominated Thurman; it is its duty and will be its pleasure to elect him. Our delegation votes California to him, and relying upon that pledge the convention disregarded the warnings of men who offered to insure the fifteen votes of Indiana in exchange for the nomination of another candidate. We can redeem those pledges, and we will."

The Washington correspondents who attended the St. Louis Convention stopped at Columbus upon the invitation of Mr. Holden, of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*, and were entertained by that gentleman at the Neil House. The correspondents were met at the railroad station by the Thurman and Jackson Clubs and, preceded by a band of music, escorted to the residence of Judge Thurman. One correspondent writes as follows :

Judge Thurman lives in a modest house on

Washington avenue, his son occupying the house adjoining. The Judge's residence is undergoing repairs, and the visitors were invited by Mr. Thurman, Jr., to his house, where the Judge soon made his appearance. From reports current at St. Louis I expected to find Judge Thurman considerably broken up physically. I was, therefore, surprised to see very little change in his appearance since I last saw him in Washington, about a year ago. He walked across the lawn from his own house to that of his son in a shuffling gait, that indicated the presence of rheumatism, but in his general appearance and manner in repose, and when speaking, he seems as vigorous as when a member of the United States Senate. His countenance is a shade paler and his beard and hair have whitened somewhat since he left the Senate, but his eye is as bright, his voice as strong, his mind as alert, his intellect as vigorous as when leading his party in debate in the Senate chamber. So far as can be observed from his bearing and conversation, there are no outward evidences other than those which attend the presence of rheumatism in the limbs—and these are only apparent when he walks—of physical weakness or diminution of mental force. His speech to the correspondents was in his happiest vein.

The allusion to his robust health and the request that the correspondents should write for him such a speech as they thought he should make upon an

occasion of this kind, were much enjoyed. Those of us who have known Judge Thurman left him with no apprehension that if elected Vice-President he would fail in duties as presiding officer of the Senate. The old gentleman came out on the porch, and as we were driven from his house waved a farewell with his bandanna. The correspondents having been supplied at St. Louis with the Thurman standard were enabled to return the salutation by waving the same emblem.

JUDGE THURMAN'S SPEECH.

After three cheers for Cleveland and Thurman and the red bandanna, Judge Thurman spoke as follows:

"The only time I ever had any lengthy talk with Henry Ward Beecher he said: 'Well, you are a pretty good-looking man for a Democrat.' I must say you are a pretty good-looking set of men considering you are newspaper men. I must confess I see no indications of horns or weapons of any kind. Now, if you want to do me a favor, write a speech for me and attribute it to me. However, be careful to put in the applause frequently.

"I understand that many good people say, and no doubt think—I do not deny the justice of their thoughts—that I am too old [laughter] to run for Vice-President. [Renewed laughter and a voice, 'We'll see about that.']] Those people who say so, and who doubtless think so, do not understand the effect upon an old Democrat of such kindness as I received at your hands and at the hands of the

rest of the Democracy of the United States. [Cheers.] Why, I feel about ten years younger at the least calculation. [Laughter and renewed cheering; a voice, 'I can say twenty.'] Well, I think it will be twenty before twenty days. [Renewed laughter.]

"Last night I stood here to speak to my fellow-citizens who came out to greet me, and upon my word, expecting to speak about five minutes, I find I spoke twenty minutes in full voice and with immense fervor and vigor. [Continued laughter and applause.] And I should not be surprised if I should make such a fool of myself between now and the second Tuesday, or the first Tuesday, or whatever Tuesday it is, in October [laughter and voices, 'November']—November, I mean—that I should be prancing around making speeches like a young man just out of teens. [Renewed laughter and applause.]

"But now, gentlemen, let me be serious a little. You know, gentlemen of the Ohio delegation, that when you were kind enough to call on me before you went to St. Louis I told you, and God knows it was the honest truth, that I did not want the nomination; that what I wanted was peace and quiet, but that it was impossible for me to say that I would not refuse a nomination, for that would make me a candidate at once, and, therefore, surrounded with these difficulties I could conceive of no other way, no other solution than to place myself in your hands, and I did so freely, honestly, fairly, loyally, trusting that you would take care of my honor as well as the interests of the Democratic party. [Cheers.] Now, gentlemen, I do not undertake to speak for the party and say

whether you have done wisely or not, but I do speak for myself and say that you have done fairly and honorably and uprightly by me, and that as long as I live I shall always bear towards you a grateful heart and a pleasant recollection. [Applause.]

“Gentlemen, I thank you for your efforts; I thank you for what you have done, and whether I shall be successful or not successful, there is one thing of which I cannot be deprived, and that is the gratification of knowing that I have the good will of the people of my State, and not only of the people of Ohio but of the people, I think, of the United States. [Continuous applause.] Now, gentlemen, I do not think I ought to say anything more for fear, as my friend Lowenstein would say, that I would paralyze you. [Great laughter.]

“I do not want to do that. I hope that every man of you, since you have put me on the ticket, will go to work and work for the ticket. But I have another word to say before I stop, and that is this: There scarcely ever happened in the history of this world a sublimer spectacle than the renomination of Grover Cleveland by the unanimous voice of the Convention [great applause,] and now I say you did a wise thing in that—a patriotic thing in that. The people of the United States love a brave man, and Cleveland is a brave man; they love an honest man, and God knows he is an honest man; they love a man of good sound judgment, and I do not know any man of sounder judgment than his; they love a man who stands up for the people, who stands up for principle, and does not fear to take the consequence, and such a man is Grover Cleveland. Gentlemen, it

will be an honor to every man of that St. Louis Convention as long as he lives that he was there to cast his vote for this worthy President of the United States. Now I thank you and will bid you good-night." [Great applause.]

DEMONSTRATION AT COLUMBUS.

The Thurman Club got up a demonstration in honor of the nomination of Judge Thurman. Captain Hoffman, of the Samuel J. Randall Club, was introduced to Mr. Thurman by President John J. Lentz, of the Thurman Club, and introduced each member of the Philadelphia club in turn to Mr. Thurman.

Judge Thurman then spoke as follows

"My friends and fellow-citizens: I sincerely thank you for this manifestation of your good will and esteem. It has been well said, 'find how a man is thought of by his neighbors, and you can form a correct judgment of that man's character and worth.' If I may judge from this demonstration, as well as from all the acts of kindness that I have received from the goodly people of Columbus for more than a third of a century, I may indulge in the hope that I stand well in the affections of my neighbors. [Great cheering.] And when in addition to that I have every reason to believe, from the attendance here to-night of that splendid body of men, the Randall Club of Philadelphia [cheers], that I stand well in that grand old State which used to be called the Keystone of the Democratic arch [renewed cheering],

and which I hope will ere long become that keystone again, then I have more than ever reason to congratulate myself and believe that I stand well with my fellow-men.

“My friends, I should be the most insensible and cold-blooded man in the world if I did not feel grateful for the kindness you have manifested toward me to-night; yes, and I may say that you have manifested toward me before to-night, and yet I do not know about that quite. I say kindness—was it kindness? I was living in my own quiet home, with my good old wife and my children and grandchildren and friends around me, wishing for nothing in this world but peace and quiet, when you and others like you force me once more into the political arena. Whether that was kind or not time will tell; whether it was well devised or not time will disclose; but one thing I need not wait for time to disclose, and that is that I owe you the deepest and profoundest gratitude from the very bottom of my heart. [Great applause.]

“Now, my friends, you will not [coughing]—I got so much of that fire and brimstone down my throat that I can hardly talk, and that is not very fair, for, if what some of my enemies say of me be true, I will get fire and brimstone quick enough without getting it now. [Laughter, and a voice, ‘A good many years yet, Judge.’] You will not expect me to make a political speech to-night. When the two parties shall have been fully marshalled in the field; when the issues, as the lawyers call them, shall have been distinctly declared; when all the candidates have their harness on and are ready for the tilt, then it will be right for me to bear my humble part in the affray. [Cheers.]

HE WILL BE HEARD FROM.

“Then I give you my word that I shall be heard from according to my feeble abilities. I think there is life enough in me yet. [Applause.] I think there is still in this old head some remnant of brains [laughter and applause] to enable me to tell the people why all my life long I have been a Democrat and mean to die one. [Applause.] And I think I shall be able to give them some reasons why they should be Democrats from now until they are laid in the grave. [Cheers.] My friends, it is not my purpose to say any harsh thing of our political opponents. That never has been my style of speaking. Even when I was a very young man—I might say not a man at all, for the first stump speech I ever made I was nothing but a boy—even then I always endeavored to keep a civil tongue in my head. I always recognized the right of every man to do his own thinking, and if he would only think honestly and be as tolerant of me as I was to him, there should be no harsh words fall from my lips in respect to him; and so now in the contests that happened in our own party, it never has been my habit to quarrel with those who did not think just as I thought. I have been before your convention in St. Louis without my will, against my will, as a candidate for a great office. [Cheering.] I was warmly, nobly, generously supported in that convention. I was also warmly and earnestly opposed. Towards those who opposed me I have nothing in the world but feelings of kindness. It was their right, if they thought some other man was better—a better man to be nominated—if they thought it was more politic or advisable, however well they

might think of me, to nominate somebody else, it was their right to think so. They were sent there to exercise their judgment, and God knows they have created not a single ruffle in my bosom nor the least symptom of ill-will towards them. [Applause.] No, my friends, I am here to advocate the right of every free American citizen to think for himself. I believe in it, and always have believed in it, as the very essence of Democracy and of free government, and therefore I wish to say to you all, for it is time I was concluding these remarks. If I do not conclude them soon our friends from Pennsylvania will scarcely find time to reach the depot in time for the train. I must, therefore, bring what I have to say to a close, and it is thus: That so long as God gives me strength to speak to my fellow-men so long shall I talk to them the good honest Democracy in which I was schooled and in which I believe.

CLEVELAND'S GREATNESS.

“Now, my friends, I should be playing the part of Hamlet with Hamlet left off if I did not say another thing that I am going to say, and which I have reserved upon the teaching of the New Testament that the master of the feast brings on the best of his wine last. I tell you, my friends, that the St. Louis Convention did the thing itself that should immortalize it. It did one thing which of itself should command the esteem and respect and gratitude of the American people. It did one thing which set a magnificent example for all time to come to the American people, and indeed to all other people who have anything to do in the choice of the rulers, and that thing was to

renominate Grover Cleveland by the unanimous voice of the convention. [Cheering.]

“Now, my friends, when I speak of Grover Cleveland I do not speak of a stranger to me. I never saw him until after he was inaugurated President of the United States, but I have seen him many times since, talked with him much, consulted with him much, and, although I have not seen him for months past, I know that man, I think, and I think I know him well, and if there is a brave, honest, upright, courageous, patriotic man on the face of God’s earth, Grover Cleveland is such a man. [Great applause.] Why, my friends, if he is not such a man, if his administration has not been a grand success, if the people have not found that he was worthy to sit in the chair that Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson occupied; if such is not the fact, how can it be accounted for that he received every vote in the convention at St. Louis, and there was not a dissent from one end of the Union to the other? [Great applause.] Traitors to their country and to their party do not get such an endorsement as that; men of small brains do not get such an endorsement as that; men of doubtful integrity do not get such an endorsement as that. No; it is because Grover Cleveland is an upright and honest, a brave, an able man, that the whole Democratic party in the United States, from one end to the other, be it State or be it Territory, be it on the Atlantic wave or be it where the Pacific rolls her mighty volume of water on our western coast; be it on the great lakes or be it on the gulf, every man of the Democratic party or every one who has the least claim to honesty himself is heard to exclaim: ‘Give us Cleveland for four years more.’

"Now, my friends, I have spoken to you longer than there was any necessity for me to speak and longer than I ought to have spoken, considering that our Pennsylvania friends have so long a march to make and little time to catch the train. I give you my heartiest thanks for the kind compliment you have paid me, and wishing you, one and all, happiness in all your life, I bid you good-night."

WHAT ROSWELL P. FLOWER SAID.

"The nomination is the strongest one that could possibly be made. Nothing can keep the Democratic party from success on the present issue. The selection of Thurman silences every man who had ever the slightest grievance against the administration and every man who was dissatisfied with the distribution of patronage. No one had more reason to feel sore than Allen G. Thurman. Cleveland brings into the campaign his magnificent record and an increased vote in the State of New York. Thurman brings with him the united body of Democracy. The Pacific coast has every reason to feel grateful to him for his vote on the Chinese bill and will be solid for the ticket. No man can be nominated on the Republican ticket who will win, if the fight is made on the present issue—tariff reform and reduction, against high protective tariff."

GOVERNOR GRAY ON THURMAN.

Governor Gray received the news of Thurman's nomination with complacency. "I have had no other expectation for two days than that Thurman would be nominated for vice-president," he said.

"I have long thought that the man whom the New York delegation supported would be the nominee. I think I should have had no trouble had it not been for Thurman's candidacy."

"What will be Thurman's strength in Indiana?"

"I think he will carry the full strength of the party in this State. He is a grand man."

A NEIGHBOR'S ESTIMATE OF THURMAN.

"When I was leaving for Europe a few years ago," said a wealthy banker and Republican of Columbus, to a *World* correspondent, "I handed Judge Thurman a blank power of attorney, and said: 'If I should meet with any accident I want you to have the settling up of my estate.' There is no other man living, Democrat or Republican, whom I would trust to that extent, but I knew that in Judge Thurman's hands my property would be perfectly safe. I am a Republican, and expect to vote against Judge Thurman, but no human being can successfully assail his honor or his integrity."

The above is a fair sample of the opinion entertained by Judge Thurman's neighbors regarding him personally. Judge Thurman's books are much scattered. Part of them are piled up in boxes in his old house, and but few of them, comparatively, have been taken to his new home. He says he could not begin to tell how many he has. He has always been careless about preserving his speeches or papers of any kind.

"I suppose," he said, "that I have made as many

speeches as any man of my age in the country, but I don't believe I have one of them to-day in my possession. You might find a few by looking over my books and papers, but not many. I have never made it a habit to keep them. I remember when I was a boy of ten that I invested in a scrap-book, and my mother, who had more to do with my education than any one else, said to me : 'Allen, I don't think you will need that; you will find after a little that you will be depending on your scrap-book altogether and your memory will suffer. Scrap-books are easily lost, but when you have a thing once fastened in your mind no one can get it away from you.' So I gave up the scrap-book, and I believe her advice was very sound. Some use a scrap-book to put down statistics and such things, but I don't believe the average man obtains any benefit from them whatever, but rather the reverse. I know I strengthened my memory

A REMARKABLE MEMORY.

"When I first began to practise law I used to make notes of the testimony. I had a system of shorthand and could write as fast as witnesses could talk. But I found that I did not often use the notes afterwards and gave up making them. I have gone into cases lasting a week or longer, when fifty or more witnesses would be examined, but I never had any difficulty in remembering what each one had said. I would take down the

names of the witnesses and a few things like that, but my notes on a very lengthy case would not more than cover two pages of foolscap."

Judge Thurman's public career up to the time he left the Senate in 1871 is a part of our political history. Since he left the Senate he has been devoting himself chiefly, as he expresses it, to minding his own business. However, his retirement has been invaded on one or two occasions before now. President Garfield appointed him one of the Commissioners on the part of the United States to attend the monetary conference in Paris in 1881. This afforded the Judge an opportunity to visit Europe, which he had long desired to do, and he broke the resolution made upon leaving the Senate never again to become a candidate for or to accept any public office. In 1884 he was elected one of the delegates-at-large from this State to the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, and two years ago President Cleveland appointed him one of the special counsel for the Government in the Bell Telephone suit. Judge Thurman's attitude has been that of a man not seeking office, but when called upon he has been ready to sacrifice his personal inclinations for the benefit of his party and country.

HIS DETESTATION OF LOBBYISTS.

"I have been in Washington," he said, "a number of times since I left the Senate, but never

except upon business, and I have made it a point to leave the moment my business was finished. No, I don't dislike Washington. It is one of the most delightful places to live in that I know of. But I had seen so much of public men hanging around Washington and becoming lobbyists after they had been relieved of representing their constituents in either house that I made up my mind I should never remain there an hour longer than was absolutely necessary when I left the Senate, and I never have. The spectacle of ex-Senators and ex-members hanging around Washington acting as lobbyists, is to me disgusting and repugnant to my ideas of what is right and proper. I do not see how any man can retain his self-respect and do it."

The devotion that exists between the Judge and his wife is touching, notwithstanding they have had their golden wedding. They seldom use a carriage, as Mrs. Thurman dislikes them. They may be seen almost any pleasant day riding around town in the street cars, making a picture for an artist. The Judge's strong rugged features and snow-white hair and whiskers give him an air of picturesque individuality which is in striking harmony with the refined and delicate features of his companion. They always address each other by their given names, even in the presence of strangers.

"I used to try to tease the Judge's little girls,"

said an old lawyer, who had known the Thurmans for years, "by telling them their father had been scolding their mother, but it never would work. Young as they were they knew better. They would bristle up and say: 'It is not true: papa never spoke a cross word to mamma in his life,' and," the lawyer added, "I reckon that is about so. I have been a near neighbor of Judge Thurman for many years, and if there ever was a case of domestic bliss and harmony it exists in the case of the Judge and his wife. He has spent many an hour in my office.

THE SECRET OF HIS GREAT SUCCESS.

"I attribute Judge Thurman's great success in life," continued the lawyer, "to one thing principally, which is to go to the bottom of everything he undertakes. He was a surveyor when he was a young man and he was always much interested in working out complicated cases. Soon after he first went to the Senate he came into my office one day and said:

"They have put me on a most insignificant committee, that of Mexican Land Claims, and I find I know nothing about them.' I believe most of the titles and grants were in Spanish from the Mexican Government. He said he should have to learn the Spanish language so that he could get at the exact meaning of the words used in the grants, and he did too. He went to work at once and did

not stop until he had mastered the Spanish language perfectly. Think of a man taking up the study of a language at his time of life simply to enable him to render a better judgment on a matter coming before his committee in Congress. But it was Thurman's way. He never did anything by halves. He did not have as quick a mind as Tom Corwin, but his dogged perseverance made him more than his equal."

"Did you know anything of the charge made by Gov. Foraker that the Judge was disloyal during the war?"

"It hasn't the slightest foundation. Mrs. Thurman, you know, comes of Kentucky stock. Many of the prisoners confined at Camp Chase were old friends of her family. She was in the habit of taking delicacies to the sick at the Hospital at Camp Chase. She carried food to both the Union and Confederate sick alike, and many a poor fellow, I reckon, had occasion to bless the sight of her sweet face. Even Foraker can hardly find anything very treasonable in Mrs. Thurman's generous acts. The Judge was always a pronounced Union man."

HIS OPINION OF CONKLING AND BLAINE.

In different conversations the *World* correspondent has had with him he has touched upon many subjects. Referring to Mr. Blaine, Judge Thurman said: "It is certainly curious the qualities that go to make a man popular before the people.

Mr. Blaine is an able and brilliant man, but I never could quite understand what it was that gave him his hold on the public. If he had not withdrawn he would unquestionably have been nominated at Chicago."

"His quarrel with Mr. Conkling was unfortunate?"

"Yes, for Mr. Blaine. If Mr. Blaine had known at the time he threw his brickbats at Mr. Conkling that the latter was a man who would send a cartload back he would probably have hesitated before attacking him. I never was so much impressed with Mr. Blaine's ability as when I read his book, 'Twenty Years of Congress.' The first volume is remarkably fair and able and quite philosophical. I do not agree with everything he says, but the work on the whole is one that will last. The second volume is not equal to the first and is not such good history. Perhaps he was dealing with matters too near the present to be free from bias.

"Mr. Conkling was a remarkable man," the Judge continued. "I knew him very well in the Senate, and our relations were very friendly. I remember, one day, I found a red bandanna on my desk with Conkling's card. He discussed men and things in a way that was dazzling in its brilliancy. I never enjoyed anything better. If he had been trained for the stage he would have made a magnificent actor."

CHAPTER XV.

NOTIFYING THE CANDIDATES.

COMMITTEES MEET AT WASHINGTON—NOTABLE GATHERING—ADDRESS BY CONGRESSMAN P. A. COLLINS, CHAIRMAN OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION—LETTER OF NOTIFICATION—PRESENTATION OF ENGROSSED COPY OF PLATFORM—PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S REPLY—RESPONSIBILITY CONNECTED WITH THE OFFICE OF PRESIDENT—JUDGE THURMAN NOTIFIED.

THE National Democratic Committee and the Notification Committee appointed by the St. Louis Convention met in Washington, June 26, and at two o'clock went to the White House. They were ushered into the East Room, and ranged themselves in a circle in the south end of the room. Palms filled all the windows and alcoves in that portion of the room, and potted plants decorated the mantels. The President was notified of their arrival, and descended to the East Room, accompanied by Mrs. Cleveland, Rev. W. N. Cleveland and wife, Mrs. W. E. Hoyt, the President's sister, Mr. and Mrs. Lamont, Mr. W. S. Bissell, of Buffalo, all of whom were present at the notification of his first nomination; Mr. Bayard, Mr. and Mrs. Fairchild, Mr. and Mrs. Whitney, Mrs. Endicott, Mr. Vilas, Mr. and Mrs. Dickinson, Mr. Benjamin Folsom, and Speaker Carlisle.

CHAIRMAN COLLINS' ADDRESS.

Their approach was a signal for a general clapping of hands on the part of the visitors, and as soon as the party had taken their places, Congressman P. A. Collins stepped forward and addressed the President as follows :

“MR. CLEVELAND: We come as a committee, authorized and instructed by the National Democratic Convention, recently held at St. Louis, to convey formal notice of its action in naming you for the office of President of the United States during the next four years. It would ill become the occasion or your presence to express at length the full meaning and significance of that great assembly. Its expression will be found and heard elsewhere and otherwise from now till that day in November when this free and intelligent people will record their approval of your great services as chief magistrate. We beg to congratulate you upon this hearty and unanimous indorsement of your course as President by the great historic party to which in all the days of your manhood you have belonged, and to congratulate the country upon the assured continuance of your wise, just, and patriotic administration.”

Upon concluding his remarks, Mr. Collins introduced Mr. Charles D. Jacobs, of Kentucky, who read the following letter of notification :

WASHINGTON, June 26.—To the Honorable Grover Cleveland, of New York—Sir: The delegates to the National Democratic Convention, represent-

ing every State and Territory of our Union, having assembled in the city of St. Louis on June 5th instant, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of President and Vice-President, it has become the honorable and pleasing duty of this committee to formally announce to you that, without a ballot, you were by acclamation chosen as the standard-bearer of the Democratic party for the chief executive of this country, at the election to be held in November next.

Great as is such a distinction under any circumstances, it is the more flattering and profound when it is remembered that you have been selected as your own successor to an office the duties of which, always onerous, have been rendered of an extraordinarily sensitive, difficult and delicate nature, because of a change of political parties and methods after twenty-four years of uninterrupted domination. This exaltation is, if possible, added to by the fact that the declaration of principles based upon your last annual message to the Congress of the United States relative to a tariff reduction and a diminution of the expenses of the Government, throws down the direct and defiant challenge for an exacting scrutiny of the administration of the executive power, which four years ago was committed in its trust to the election of Grover Cleveland President of the United States, and for the most searching inquiry concerning its fidelity and devotion to the pledges which then invited the suffrages of the people. An engrossed copy of that platform, adopted without a dissenting voice, is herewith tendered to you.

In conveying, sir, to you the responsible trust which has been consigned to them the committee

beg, individually and collectively, to express the great pleasure which they have felt at the results attending the National Convention of the Democratic party, and to offer to you their best wishes for your official and personal success and happiness.

We have the honor, sir, to be your obedient servants.

(Signed by all the members of the committee.)

Mr. Thomas S. Pettit, secretary of the Notification Committee, then presented Mr. Cleveland with a handsomely-engrossed copy of the platform adopted at the National Democratic Convention.

THE PRESIDENT'S ACCEPTANCE.

Mr. Cleveland replied as follows:

I cannot but be profoundly impressed when I see about me the messengers of the national Democracy, bearing its summons to duty. The political party to which I owe allegiance both honors and commands me. It places in my hand its proud standard and bids me bear it high at the front in a battle which it wages gravely, because conscious of right; confidently, because its trust is in the people; and soberly, because it comprehends the obligation which success imposes.

The message which you bring awakens within me the liveliest sense of personal gratitude and satisfaction, and the honor which you tender me is in itself so great that there might well be no room for any other sentiment. And yet I cannot rid myself of grave and serious thoughts when I remember that party supremacy is not alone

involved in the conflict which presses upon us, but that we struggle to secure and save the cherished institutions, the welfare and the happiness of a nation of freemen.

Familiarity with the great office which I hold has but added to my apprehension of its sacred character and the consecration demanded of him who assumes its immense responsibilities. It is the repository of the people's will and power. Within its vision should be the protection and welfare of the humblest citizen, and with quick ear it should catch from the remotest corner of the land the plea of the people for justice and for right. For the sake of the people, he who holds this office of theirs should resist every encroachment upon its legitimate functions, and for the sake of the integrity and usefulness of the office it should be kept near to the people and be administered in full sympathy with their wants and needs.

This occasion reminds me most vividly of the scene when, four years ago, I received a message from my party similar to that which you now deliver. With all that has passed since that day I can truly say that the feeling of awe with which I heard the summons then is intensified manifold when it is repeated now. Four years ago I knew that our chief executive office, if not carefully guarded, might drift little by little away from the people to whom it belonged and become a perversion of all it ought to be; but I did not know how much its moorings had already been loosened. I knew four years ago how well devised were the principles of true Democracy for the successful operation of a government by the people and for

the people; but I did not know how absolutely necessary their application then was for the restoration to the people of their safety and prosperity. I knew then that abuses and extravagances had crept into the management of public affairs, but I did not know their numerous forms nor the tenacity of their grasp. I knew then something of the bitterness of partisan obstruction; but I did not know how bitter, how reckless and how shameless it could be. I knew, too, that the American people were patriotic and just; but I did not know how grandly they loved their country, nor how noble and generous they were.

I shall not dwell upon the acts and the policy of the Administration now drawing to its close. Its record is open to every citizen of the land. And yet I will not be denied the privilege of asserting at this time that in the exercise of the functions of the high trust confided to me I have yielded obedience only to the Constitution and the solemn obligation of my oath of office. I have done those things which, in the light of the understanding God has given me, seemed most conducive to the welfare of my countrymen and the promotion of good government. I would not if I could, for myself nor for you, avoid a single consequence of a fair interpretation of my course.

It but remains for me to say to you, and through you to the Democracy of the nation, that I accept the nomination with which they have honored me, and that I will in due time signify such acceptance in the usual formal manner.

JUDGE THURMAN NOTIFIED.

The members of the Democratic committee ap-

pointed to notify ex-Senator Allen G. Thurman of his nomination to the office of Vice-President arrived in Columbus by special train on the morning of June 28. The committee was appropriately received by committees of local Democratic clubs, and was grandly entertained. All the regular committee were present, except the representatives from Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Virginia, Arizona, and New Mexico. Accompanying the committee also were General P. F. Collins, of Massachusetts, and Hon. S. M. Whyte, of California.

At one o'clock the committee started for Judge Thurman's residence, and it was announced that the meeting would be in that portion occupied by his sons. The party was received in the north reception-room of Mr. A. W. Thurman's residence, which had been bedecked with flowers and plants. General Collins and Mayor Jacobs, of Louisville, stationed themselves at the head of the room in front of the window; the other members of the committee and the various gentlemen present having arranged themselves in a semicircle, awaited the entrance of Judge Thurman, who speedily made his appearance from the drawing-room on the south.

Judge Thurman was greeted with a burst of applause as he came forward leaning on the arm of

his son, Mr. A. W. Thurman. It was an impressive sight, and one well calculated to accompany the scene about to be completed. As soon as Judge Thurman had taken his seat and bowed to the gentlemen standing ready to receive him, General Collins advanced, and, after shaking him by the hand, spoke as follows: "Judge Thurman, we bear a message from the great council of your party. It is but a formal notice of your nomination by that body for the high office of Vice-President of the United States. Rich as our language is in power and expression, it contains no words to adequately convey the sentiment of that Convention as its heart went out to you. I present my friend, Charles D. Jacobs, Mayor of Louisville."

Mr. Jacobs stepped forward, and in an earnest voice read a formal letter of notification, which was signed by the committee on notification.

Mr. Thurman thanked the committee in well-chosen words, stating that he accepted the nomination, and shortly afterward the committee withdrew.

Interesting Facts about all our Presidents.

ADMINISTRATION OF WASHINGTON.

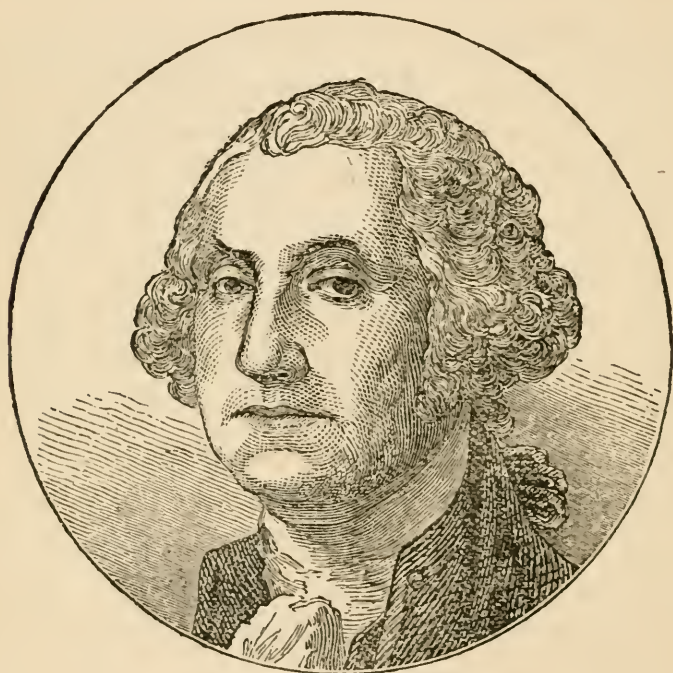
1789-1797.

THE 4th of March, 1789, was the time appointed for the Government of the United States to go into operation under its new organization; but several weeks elapsed before quorums of both Houses of Congress were assembled. The city of New York was the place where Congress then met.

On the 6th of April the electoral votes were counted. At that time, and until 1805, each elector voted by ballot for two persons. If a majority of all the votes were cast for any person, he who received the greatest number of votes became President, and he who received the next greatest number became Vice-President. When the votes were counted they were found to be for George Washington, of Virginia, 69 (all of the electors having voted for him), John Adams, of Massachusetts received 34 votes, and 35 votes were cast for various other candidates.

Charles Thompson, the oldest secretary of Congress, was sent to Mount Vernon to notify Washington of his election. Washington promptly signified his acceptance of the office, and, two days later, started for New York. He was desirous of

travelling as quietly and unostentatiously as possible, but the people of the States through which he passed would not permit him to do so. His journey was a constant ovation. Crowds greeted him at every town with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of affection and confidence; triumphal



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

arches were erected, and his way was strewn with flowers by young girls; and maidens and mothers greeted him with songs composed in his honor. In consequence of these demonstrations his progress was so much retarded that he did not reach New York until the latter part of April.

On the 30th of April Washington appeared on

the balcony of Federal Hall, New York, on the site of which the United States Treasury now stands, and took the oath of office in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, and a large crowd of citizens assembled in the streets below. He then repaired to the Senate chamber, and there delivered an address to both Houses of Congress. The plan of the new government being now completed, Congress proceeded to its organization through the departments of the judiciary, of state, of the treasury, of war, and of attorney-general.

President Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury, and General Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War. John Jay, of New York, was made Chief-Justice of the United States, and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, was chosen Speaker of the House; but his election was not a party triumph, for parties were still in a state of utter confusion. Between the extreme Anti-Federalists, who considered the Constitution a long step toward a despotism, and the extreme Federalists, who desired a monarchy modeled on that of England—there were all varieties of political opinion. Washington, through the universal confidence in his integrity and good judgment, had the ability to hold together the conservative men

of all parties for a time, and prevent party contest upon the interpretation of Federal powers until the Constitution should be tested and its value demonstrated to the people.

In 1792 the second Presidential election took place. Washington was anxious to retire, but yielded to the wishes of the people, and was again chosen President by the unanimous vote of the electoral colleges of the several States.

The electoral votes were counted in February, 1793, and found to be for George Washington 132 (all the electors having voted for him), for John Adams 77, for George Clinton 50, for Thomas Jefferson 4, and for Aaron Burr 1. Washington was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1793.

At the close of his term of office Washington withdrew to his home at Mount Vernon, to enjoy the repose he had so well earned, and which was so grateful to him. His administration had been eminently successful. When he entered upon the duties of the Presidency the government was new and untried, and its best friends doubted its ability to exist long; the finances were in confusion, and the country was burdened with debt; the disputes with Great Britain threatened to involve the country in a new war; and the authority of the general government was uncertain and scarcely recognized. When he left office the state of affairs was changed. The government had been severely tested, and had been found equal to any demand

upon it. The disputes with England had been arranged, and the country, no longer threatened with war, but was free to devote its energies to its improvement. Industry and commerce were growing rapidly.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS.

4th of March, 1797—4th of March, 1801.

At the elections held in the fall of 1796 the Federalists put forward John Adams, of Massachusetts, as their candidate, while the Republicans or Democrats supported Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia. The contest was very bitter, and resulted in the election of Mr. Adams. Mr. Jefferson, receiving the next highest number of votes, was declared Vice-President, in accordance with the law as it then stood.

The electoral vote was counted in February and was as follows: For John Adams 71, for Thomas Jefferson 68, for Thomas Pinckney 59, for Aaron Burr 30, and the rest scattering.

On the 4th of March, 1797, Mr. Adams, the second President of the United States, was inaugurated at Philadelphia, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, and Thomas Jefferson was inaugurated as Vice-President. Mr. Adams was dressed in a full suit of pearl-colored broadcloth, and wore his hair powdered. He was in the sixty-second year of his age, and in the full vigor of health and intellect.

Mr. Adams made no changes in the cabinet left by President Washington, and the policy of his administration corresponded throughout with that of his great predecessor. He came into office at a time when this policy was to be subjected to



JOHN ADAMS.

the severest test, and was to be triumphantly vindicated by the trial. Mr. Adams began his official career with the declaration of his "determination to maintain peace and inviolate faith with all nations, and neutrality and impartiality with the belligerent powers of Europe."

During the summer of the year 1800 the seat of the general government was removed from Philadelphia to the new federal city of Washington, in the District of Columbia. On the 22d of November, the session of Congress was opened in the unfinished capitol of Washington.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

ADMINISTRATION OF JEFFERSON.

4th of March, 1801—4th of March, 1809.

The elections for President and Vice-President were held in the autumn of 1800. John Adams

was the Federalist candidate for the Presidency, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney the candidate of that party for Vice-President. The Republican or Democratic party nominated Thomas Jefferson for the Presidency, and Colonel Aaron Burr, of New York, for the Vice-Presidency. The alien and sedition laws had rendered the Federalist party so unpopular that the electors chosen at the polls failed to make a choice, and the election was thrown upon the House of Representatives, according to the terms of the Constitution.

The votes of the electoral college were for Jefferson, 73; Burr, 73; Adams, 65; Pinckney, 64; and John Jay, 1. The States that cast the electoral votes of their colleges for Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr were nine; to wit, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Georgia. Those that cast the electoral votes of their colleges for Mr. Adams and Mr. Pinckney were seven; to wit, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, and Delaware. Rhode Island cast one vote for Mr. Jay, to prevent that equality of votes on the Federal ticket, which, for the want of a like precaution, resulted on the Republican side, and which caused so much excitement and confusion. Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr having received an equal number of votes, there was no election by the colleges, as the Constitution then

stood. It then devolved upon the House of Representatives, voting by States, to choose for President and Vice-President between Mr. Jefferson and Colonel Burr.

On the 17th of February, 1801, after thirty-six ballots, the House elected Thomas Jefferson President, and Aaron Burr Vice-President of the United States, for a term of four years from and after the 4th of March, 1801.

Thomas Jefferson, the third President of the United States, was inaugurated at the new capitol, in the city of Washington, on the 4th of March, 1801. He was in his fifty-eighth year, and had long been regarded as one of the most illustrious men in America. He was the author of the Declaration of Independence, had represented the country as minister to France, had served in the cabinet of General Washington as Secretary of State, and had filled the high office of Vice-President during the administration of Mr. Adams. He was the founder of the Democratic party, and was regarded by it with an enthusiastic devotion which could see no flaw in his character. By the Federalists he was denounced with intense bitterness as a Jacobin, and an enemy of organized government. He was unquestionably a believer in the largest freedom possible to man; but he was too deeply versed in the lessons of statesmanship, and was too pure a patriot to entertain for a moment the levelling principles with which his ene-

mies charged him. Under him the government of the republic suffered no diminution of strength, but his administration was a gain to the country.

Mr. Jefferson began his administration by seeking to undo as far as possible the evil effects of the sedition act of 1798. A number of persons were in prison in consequence of sentences under this act at the time of his inauguration. These were at once pardoned by the President and released from prison.

At the meeting of the seventh Congress, in December, 1801, President Jefferson, in pursuance of an announcement made some time before, inaugurated the custom which has since prevailed of sending a written message to each House of Congress, giving his views on public affairs and the situation of the country. Previous to this the President had always met the two Houses upon their assembling, and had addressed them in person.

In the fall of 1804 the fifth Presidential election was held. The Republicans, or Democrats, voted for Mr. Jefferson for the office of President; this time Mr. Burr was dropped by his party, who nominated George Clinton, of New York, for Vice-President in his place. The Federals supported Charles Cotesworth Pinckney for President, and Rufus King for Vice-President. The result was one hundred and sixty-two electoral votes for Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Clinton, and fourteen only for

Mr. Pinckney and Mr. King. By States the vote stood: fifteen for the Democratic or Republican ticket, and only two States for the Federal. These two were Connecticut and Delaware. So popular was Mr. Jefferson's Administration, that the centralizing party, styling itself "Federal," had become almost extinct. He was inaugurated for a second term on the 4th of March, 1805.

Aaron Burr had at last experienced the reward of his insincerity: both parties had come to distrust him. After his defeat for the Vice-Presidency he had been nominated by his party as their candidate for governor of New York. He was warmly opposed by Alexander Hamilton, who was mainly instrumental in bringing about his defeat. Burr never forgave Hamilton for his course in this election, and took advantage of the first opportunity to challenge him to a duel. They met at Weehawken, on the banks of the Hudson opposite New York, on the 11th of July, 1804. Hamilton, who had accepted the challenge in opposition to his better judgment, and who had expressed his intention not to fire at Burr, was mortally wounded, and died within twenty-four hours. In him perished one of the brightest intellects and most earnest patriots of the republic. His loss was regarded as second only to that of Washington, and the sad news of his death was received in all parts of the country with profound and unaffected sorrow.

The murder of Hamilton, for it was nothing else, closed Burr's political career. His remaining years were passed in restless intrigue.

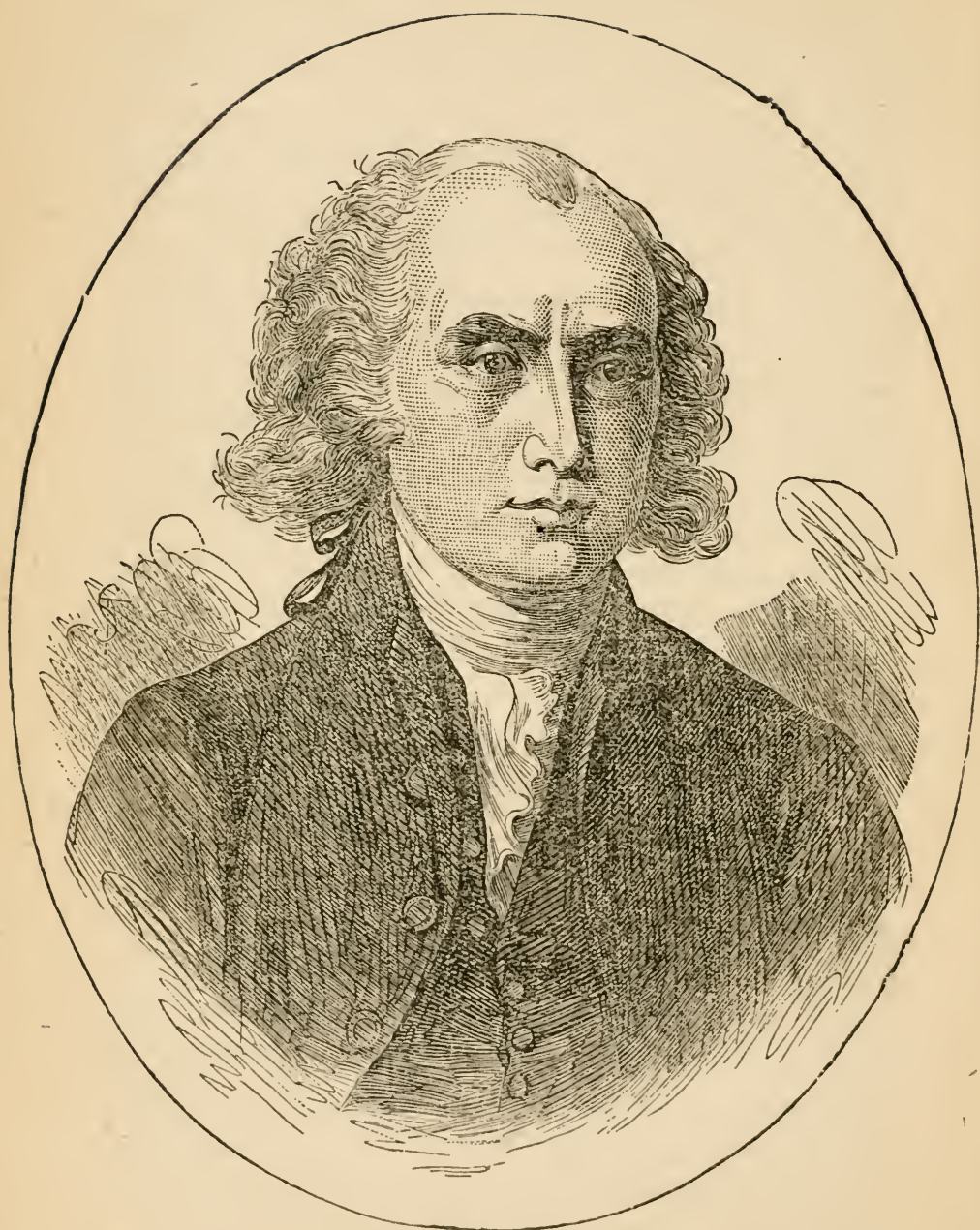
ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MADISON.

4th of March, 1809—4th of March, 1817.

In the election of 1808 Mr. Jefferson, following the example of President Washington, declined to be a candidate for a third term, and the Democratic or administration party supported James Madison for the Presidency, and George Clinton for the Vice-Presidency. The Federal party again nominated Charles Cotesworth Pinckney for President, and Rufus King for Vice-President. The result of the election was, 122 electoral votes for Madison and 47 for Pinckney, for President, and 113 for Clinton and 47 for King for Vice-President. By States the vote stood: 12 for the Democratic ticket, and 5 for the Federal. These five were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Delaware.

James Madison, the fourth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1809. He was in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and had long been one of the most prominent men in the Union. He had borne a distinguished part in the convention of 1787, and was the author of the Virginia resolutions of 1786, which brought about the assembling of this con-

vention. He had entered the convention as one of the most prominent leaders of the national party, which favored the consolidation of the States into one distinct and supreme nation, and had acted with Randolph, Hamilton, Wilson, Morris, and King, in seeking to bring about such a result. When it was found impossible to carry out this plan Mr. Madison gave his cordial support to the system which was finally adopted by the convention; and while the constitution was under discussion by the States, he united with Hamilton and Jay in earnestly recommending the adoption of the constitution by the States, in a series of able articles, to which the general title of the "Federalist" was given. After the organization of the government Mr. Madison was a member of the House of Representatives, and was regarded as one of the leaders of the Federalist party, and gave to Hamilton his cordial support in the finance measures of that minister. Towards the close of Washington's administration, however, Mr. Madison's political views underwent a great change. He was a near neighbor and warm friend of Mr. Jefferson, and was greatly influenced by the opinions and the strong personal character of that great statesman. As the political controversies of the time deepened, he became more and more inclined towards the Republican or "Strict Construction" party, and in Mr. Adams' administration took his position as one of the leaders of that party. At



JAMES MADISON.

the time of his election to the Presidency, Mr. Jefferson having withdrawn from public life, Mr. Madison was the recognized leader of the Democratic party, as the Republican party had come to be called.

In 1812 Mr. Madison was again nominated for President by the Democratic party, and Elbridge Gerry, of Connecticut, for Vice-President. De Witt Clinton, of New York, was supported by the anti-administration or old Federal party for President, and Jared Ingersoll, of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President. Mr. Madison received 128 electoral votes for President, and Mr. Clinton 89. Mr. Gerry received 131 for Vice-President, and Mr. Ingersoll 86. By States, the vote stood: For the regular Democratic candidates, 11; and for the Opposition candidates, 7. The eleven States that voted for Mr. Madison were: Vermont, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Louisiana; and the seven that voted for Mr. Clinton were: New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Delaware.

Mr. Madison was inaugurated President for a second time, on the 4th of March, 1813. The most distinguishing feature of his administration was the war with Great Britain. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom or the policy of that war, or of its general conduct, the result unques-

tionably added greatly to the public character of the United States in the estimation of foreign powers. The price at which this had been purchased was in round numbers about one hundred million dollars in public expenditures, and the loss of about thirty thousand men, including those who fell in battle as well as those who died of disease contracted in the service. At the close of his term Mr. Madison retired from office, leaving the country at peace with the world, and rapidly recovering from the injurious effects of the late war. He returned to his home at Montpelier, Virginia, where he enjoyed the society of his friends and the general esteem of his countrymen.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MONROE.

4th of March, 1817—4th of March, 1825.

The eighth presidential election took place in the fall of 1816. Mr. Madison having declined to be a candidate for a third term, the Democratic party nominated James Monroe, of Virginia, for President; Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, for Vice-President, and elected them by large majorities over the Federal candidates, who were: For President, Rufus King, of New York; for Vice-President, John Howard, of Maryland. The result of the vote of the Electoral Colleges was 183 for Mr. Monroe, and 34 for Mr. King, for President; 183 for Mr. Tompkins, and 22 for Mr. Howard, for Vice-President. The vote by States at this election



JAMES MONROE.

stood: 16 for the Democratic, and 3 for the Federal candidates. The 16 States that voted for Mr. Monroe and Mr. Tompkins were: New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, and Indiana. The 3 that voted for Mr. King were: Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware.

James Monroe, the fifth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1817, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His inaugural address gave general satisfaction to all parties. His cabinet were: John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, Secretary of State; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Secretary of War; William Wirt, of Virginia, Attorney-General; Smith Thompson, of New York, Secretary of the Navy. These were all men of distinguished ability, and thoroughly identified with the Democratic party at the time.

In the fall of 1820 Mr. Monroe and Governor Tompkins were re-elected President and Vice-President of the United States. Mr. Monroe received at the polls a majority of the votes of every State in the Union, and every electoral vote but one. The electoral college of New Hampshire cast one vote for John Quincy Adams.

The 4th of March this year coming on Sunday,

Mr. Monroe was inaugurated for the second term on the succeeding day, Monday, the 5th of that month.

Monroe's election had been so nearly unanimous, and party divisions had nominally so far disappeared, that his administration is commonly called the era of good feeling. In reality there was as much bad feeling between the Strict Constructionists and the Loose Constructionists of his party as could have existed between two opposing parties. The want of regularly organized parties had only the effect of making the next Presidential election a personal instead of a party contest, the worst form a political struggle can take.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

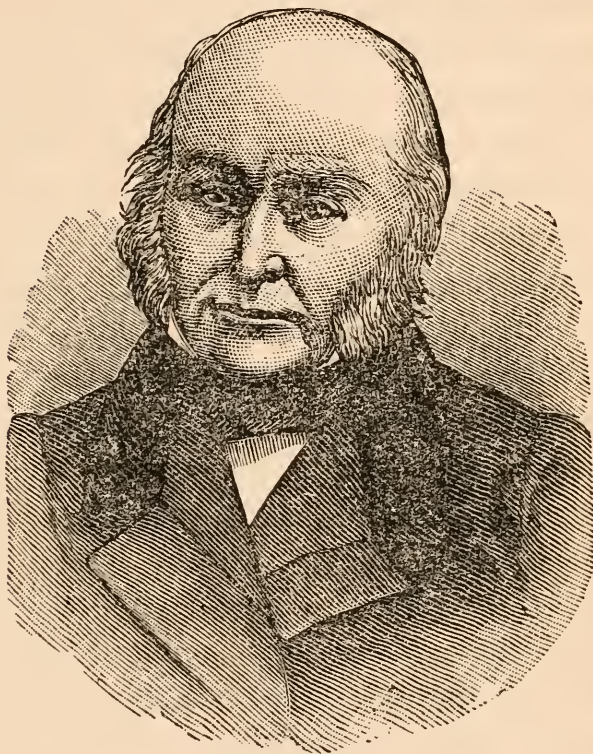
4th of March, 1825—4th of March, 1829.

In the fall of 1824 the presidential election was held amid great political excitement. The "era of good feeling" was at an end, and party spirit ran high. There were four candidates in the field, Mr. Monroe having declined a third term; Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, and Henry Clay. None of these received a popular majority, and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives in Congress, and resulted in the choice of John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, as President of the United States.

The result of the electoral vote was 99 for Andrew Jackson, 84 for John Quincy Adams, 41 for William H. Crawford, and 37 for Henry Clay, for President; and 182 for John C. Calhoun for Vice-President, with some scattering votes for others. The States that voted for Gen. Jackson were: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, and Alabama—eleven in all. Those which voted for John Quincy Adams were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, and New York—seven in all. Those that voted for Mr. Crawford were: Delaware, Virginia, and Georgia. While those that voted for Mr. Clay were: Kentucky, Ohio, and Missouri.

Mr. Calhoun, having received a large majority of the electoral votes, was duly declared elected Vice-President; but neither of the candidates for President having received a majority of the votes of the Electoral Colleges, the choice, under the Constitution, devolved upon the House of Representatives, voting by States. This choice was made on the 9th of February, 1825; when, upon counting the ballots, it was found that John Quincy Adams received the votes of thirteen States, Andrew Jackson the votes of seven States, and Mr. Crawford the votes of four States. Mr. Adams having received the votes of a majority of the States was declared elected to succeed Mr. Monroe.

This election produced great discontent throughout the country, and most seriously affected the popularity of Mr. Clay, as the election of Mr. Adams was attributed mainly to his agency, which had been exerted, as was supposed by many, with a view to defeat the election of Gen. Jackson,



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

who by the returns of the electoral vote seemed to stand highest in the popular favor.

On the 4th of March, 1825, John Quincy Adams was inaugurated President of the United States. He was the son of John Adams, the second President of the republic, and was in his fifty-eighth

year. He was a man of great natural ability, of strong personal character, and of unbending integrity. He had been carefully educated, and was one of the most learned men in the Union. Apart from his general education he had received a special training in statesmanship. He had served as minister to the Netherlands, and in the same capacity at the courts of Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and England, where he had maintained a high reputation. He had represented the State of Massachusetts in the Federal Senate, and had been secretary of state, in the cabinet of Mr. Monroe, during the last administration. He was, therefore, thoroughly qualified for the duties of the high office upon which he now entered. He called to his cabinet men of marked ability, at the head of which was Henry Clay, who became secretary of state. The administration of Mr. Adams was one of remarkable prosperity. The country was growing wealthier by the rapid increase of its agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and abroad it commanded the respect of the world. Still party spirit raged with great violence during the whole of this period.

During Mr. Adams' administration the tariff question again engaged the attention of the country. The manufacturing interests were still struggling against foreign competition, and it was the opinion of the Eastern and Middle States that the general government should protect them by the imposition

of high duties upon products of foreign countries imported into the Union. The South was almost a unit in its opposition to a high tariff. Being, as we have said, an agricultural section, its interests demanded a free market, and it wished to avail itself of the privilege of purchasing where it could buy cheapest. The South and the West were the markets of the East, and the interests of that section demanded the exclusion of foreign competition in supplying these markets.

In July, 1827, a convention of manufacturers was held at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and a memorial was adopted praying Congress to increase the duties on foreign goods to an extent which would protect American industry. When Congress met in December, 1827, the protective policy was the most important topic of the day. It was warmly discussed in Congress and throughout the country. The interests of New England were championed by the matchless eloquence of Daniel Webster, who claimed that as the adoption of the protective policy by the government had forced New England to turn her energies to manufactures, the government was bound to protect her against competition. The Southern representatives argued that a protective tariff was unconstitutional, and was injurious in its operations to the interests of the people of the Southern States, who, being producers of staples for export, ought to have liberty to purchase such articles as they needed

wherever they could find them cheapest. They declared that duties under the protective policy were not only bounties to manufacturers, but a heavy tax levied upon their constituents and a great majority of the consumers in all the States, which never went into the public treasury. The tariff bill was passed by the House on the 15th of April, 1828, and was approved by the President a little later. It was termed by its opponents the "Bill of Abominations."

In the midst of this excitement the presidential election occurred. Mr. Adams was a candidate for re-election. The contest between the two parties, the Administration and Opposition, over the powers and limitations of the Federal Government, became almost as hot and fierce as it was in 1800, between the Federalists and Republicans of that day. General Jackson, without any caucus nomination, was supported by the Opposition everywhere for President, and Mr. Calhoun for Vice-President. The friends of the Administration put forth the utmost of their exertions for the re-election of Mr. Adams to the office of President, and Richard Rush to the office of Vice-President. The result of the vote of the Electoral Colleges was, 178 for Jackson, and 83 for Adams; 171 for Mr. Calhoun, and 83 for Mr. Rush. The vote for President by States stood: 15 for Jackson and 9 for Adams. The 15 States that voted for Jackson were: New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North

Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri; the 9 that voted for Mr. Adams were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON.

March 4th, 1829—March 4th, 1837.

Andrew Jackson, the seventh President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington, on the 4th of March, 1829.

President Jackson was in many respects one of the most remarkable men of his day. He possessed a combination of qualities seldom met with in any one person. Education had done but little for him; but by nature he was fitted for the government of men both in the field and in the Cabinet. During the Administration of the elder Adams he had occupied a seat in the United States Senate from Tennessee, and gave a most cordial support to the principles of Mr. Jefferson. Resigning his place in that body, he was afterwards elected one of the judges of the Supreme Court of his State. His military achievements in the wars against the Creek and Seminole Indians, and his victory over the British at New Orleans, have been fully recorded.

The election of General Jackson to the Presi-



ANDREW JACKSON.

dency was regarded with some anxiety, for though his merits as a soldier were conceded, it was feared by many that his known imperiousness of will and his inflexibility of purpose would seriously disqualify him for the delicate duties of the Presidency. Nature had made him a ruler, however, and his administration was marked by the fearless energy that characterized every act of his life, and was on the whole successful and satisfactory to the great majority of his countrymen.

General Jackson began his administration by appointing a new cabinet, at the head of which he placed Martin Van Buren, of New York, as Secretary of State. Until now the postmaster-general had not been regarded as a cabinet officer. General Jackson invited that officer to a seat in his cabinet and a share in its deliberations, and his course has been pursued by all of his successors.

Early in 1831, the question of the Presidential succession was agitated. The Legislature of Pennsylvania put General Jackson in nomination for re-election, he having consented to be a candidate.

The election took place in the fall of 1832. General Jackson was supported for the Presidency by the Democratic party, and Mr. Clay by the Whig party. The contest was marked by intense bitterness, for Jackson's veto of the charter of the Bank of the United States, his other vetoes of public improvement bills, and his attitude in the "Nullification" controversy between the United

States and South Carolina, had created a strong opposition to him in all parts of the country. In spite of this opposition he was re-elected by a triumphant majority, and Martin Van Buren, of New York, the Democratic nominee, was chosen Vice-President.

The following electoral votes were cast for the respective candidates: for Jackson, 219; for Clay, 49; and for Wirt, the Anti-Masonic candidate, 7 votes. For Vice-President, the electoral votes stood: for Martin Van Buren, 189; for John Sergeant, 49; for Amos Ellmaker, 7. The vote by States for the candidates for the Presidency stood: 16 for Jackson; 6 for Clay; and 1 for Wirt. The 16 States that voted for Jackson were: Maine, New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Ohio, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, and Missouri; the 6 States that voted for Mr. Clay were: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky; the State that voted for Mr. Wirt was: Vermont; South Carolina cast her vote for John Floyd, of Virginia, for President, and Henry Lee, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

President Jackson was inaugurated for his second term on the 4th of March, 1833.

In the meantime serious trouble had arisen between the general government and the State of South Carolina. During the year 1832 the tariff

was revised by Congress, and that body, instead of diminishing the duties, increased many of them. This action gave great offence to the Southern States, which regarded the denial of free trade as a great wrong to them. They were willing to submit to a tariff sufficient for a revenue, but were utterly opposed to a protective tariff for the reasons we have already stated.

The State of South Carolina resolved to "nullify" the law within its own limits. A convention of the people of the State was held, which adopted a measure known as the "Nullification Ordinance." This ordinance declared that the tariff act of 1832, being based upon the principle of protection, and not upon the principle of raising revenue, was unconstitutional, and was therefore null and void. This ordinance was to take effect on the 12th of February, 1833, unless in the meantime the general government should abandon its policy of protection and return to a tariff for revenue only.

The country at large was utterly opposed to the course of South Carolina, and denied its right to nullify a law of Congress, or to withdraw from the Union in support of this right. Intense excitement prevailed, and the course of the President was watched with the gravest anxiety. He was known to be opposed to the protective policy; but it was generally believed that he was firm in his intention to enforce the laws, however he might disapprove of them.

President Jackson took measures promptly to enforce the law. He ordered a large body of troops to assemble at Charleston, under General Scott, and a ship of war was sent to that port to assist the federal officers in collecting the duties on imports. Civil war seemed for a time inevitable. The President was firmly resolved to compel the submission of South Carolina, and the issue of such a conflict could not be doubtful.

Fortunately a peaceful settlement of the trouble was effected. Mr. Verplanck, of New York, a supporter of the administration, introduced a bill into Congress for a reduction of the tariff, and the State of Virginia sent Benjamin Watkins Leigh, a distinguished citizen, as commissioner to South Carolina, to urge her to suspend the execution of her ordinance until March 4th, as there was a probability that a peaceful settlement of the difficulty would be arranged before that time. South Carolina consented to be guided by this appeal.

Henry Clay, with his usual patriotic self-sacrifice, now came forward in the Senate with a compromise which he hoped would put an end to the trouble. He introduced a bill providing for the gradual reduction in ten years of all duties then above the revenue standard. "One-tenth of one-half of all the duties for protection above that standard was to be taken off annually for ten years, at the end of which period the whole of the other half was to be taken off, and thereafter all duties were to be

levied mainly with a view to revenue and not for protection." This measure with some modifications was adopted by both Houses of Congress, and was approved by the President on the 2d of March, 1833. The people of South Carolina rescinded their "Nullification Ordinance," and the trouble was fortunately brought to an end.

The Administration of Gen. Jackson was distinguished for many acts of foreign as well as domestic policy which cannot be embraced in this brief sketch. Taken all together, it made a deep and lasting impression upon the policy and history of the States. On his retirement, following the example of Washington, he issued a Farewell Address, in which he evinced the most ardent patriotism and the most earnest devotion to the cause of constitutional liberty.

The presidential election was held in the fall of 1836. General Jackson having declined to be a candidate for a third term, the Democratic party supported Martin Van Buren for President, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. Mr. Van Buren was elected; but the electors having failed to make a choice of a candidate for Vice-President, that task devolved upon the Senate, which elected Colonel Richard M. Johnson by a majority of seventeen votes.

The electoral votes cast for the several candidates for President were as follows: 170 for Martin Van Buren, 14 for Daniel Webster, 73 for

William Henry Harrison, 11 for W. P. Mangum, of N. C., and 26 for H. L. White, of Tennessee. Mr. Van Buren, having received a majority, was duly declared President for the next term. The vote by States in this election was: 15 for Mr. Van Buren, 7 for General Harrison, 2 for Mr. White, and 1 for Mr. Webster. The 15 States that voted for Mr. Van Buren were: Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, and Michigan; the 7 that voted for General Harrison were: Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana; the 2 that voted for Mr. White were: Georgia and Tennessee; the one State that voted for Mr. Webster was Massachusetts.

The votes of the Electoral Colleges for Vice-President were: 147 for Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky; 77 for Francis Granger, of New York; 47 for John Tyler, of Virginia; and 23 for William Smith, of Alabama. Neither of the candidates for Vice-President having received a majority of the votes, the choice of that officer devolved upon the Senate, and that body elected Col. Johnson by a vote of 33, against 16 for Mr. Granger.

ADMINISTRATION OF VAN BUREN.

4th of March, 1837—4th of March, 1841.

Martin Van Buren, the eighth President of the

United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1837, in the 55th year of his age. "At high noon the President elect took his seat, with his venerable predecessor, General Jackson, in a carriage, made from the wood of the frigate *Constitution*, presented to General Jackson by the Democracy of the city of New York. In this from the White House they proceeded to the Capitol. After reaching the Senate Chamber Mr. Van Buren, attended by the ex-President, and the members of the Senate, led the way to the rostrum, where the Inaugural Address was delivered in clear and impressive tones. At the close of the Address the oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney."

In the Address Mr. Van Buren indicated his purpose, on all matters of public policy, to follow in the "footsteps of his illustrious predecessor."

A distinguished writer, in speaking of Mr. Van Buren's Administration, as a whole, says:

"The great event of General Jackson's Administration was the contest with the Bank of the United States, and its destruction as a Federal institution—that of Madison's was the war—while Jefferson's was a general revolution of the anti-Democratic spirit and policy of the preceding Administration. The great event of Mr. Van Buren's Administration, by which it will hereafter be known and designated, is, the divorce of Bank and State in the fiscal affairs of the Federal Gov-



MARTIN VAN BUREN

ernment, and the return, after half a century of deviation, to the original design of the Constitution."

In the fall of 1840 another Presidential election was held. Mr. Van Buren and Vice-President Johnson were nominated for re-election by the Democratic party, and the Whigs supported General William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, for President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for Vice-President. The financial distress of the country which had been very great since 1837, was generally attributed by the people to the interference of the government with the currency. This feeling made the Democratic nominees exceedingly unpopular, and the political campaign was one of the most exciting ever conducted in this country.

The principal issues in this contest were the sub-treasury system, extravagant appropriations, defalcations, and profligacy of numerous subordinate officers. The "gold spoons" furnished the Executive Mansion figured prominently in the canvass. All the opposing elements united under the Whig banner. This party held a general convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on the 4th of December, 1839, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President. It was generally supposed that Mr. Clay would receive the nomination of this body for President. But his course on the Tariff Compromise of 1833 had greatly weakened him with the Protectionists.

When he adopted that course he was told it would lose him the Presidency. His reply at the time was, "I would rather be right than be President." The Democratic party held their general convention in Baltimore on the 5th of May, 1840. Log-cabins and hard cider, which were supposed to be typical of Harrison's frontier life, became very popular with the Whigs. The result of the election, after a heated canvass, was 234 electoral votes for Harrison for President, and 234 for John Tyler for Vice-President. Mr. Van Buren received 60 electoral votes for President; Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, received 48 for Vice-President; Littleton W. Tazewell, of Virginia, 11, and James K. Polk, of Tennessee, 1. The vote for President by States stood 19 for General Harrison and 7 for Mr. Van Buren. The seven States that voted for Mr. Van Buren were: New Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, and Arkansas.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF HARRISON AND TYLER.

4th of March, 1841—4th of March, 1845.

William Henry Harrison, the ninth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1841, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. The city of Washington was thronged with people, many of whom were from the most distant States.

of the Union. A procession was formed from his hotel quarters to the capitol. The President-elect was mounted upon a white charger, accompanied by several personal friends, but his immediate escort were the officers and soldiers who had fought under him. The inaugural address was delivered on a



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

platform erected over the front steps of the portico of the east front of the capitol. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney, before an audience estimated at 60,000 people.

He was a man of pure life and earnest character, and the certainty of a change of policy in the measures of the federal government had caused

the people of the country to look forward to his administration with hope and confidence. He began by calling to seats in his cabinet men of prominence and ability. At the head of the cabinet he placed Daniel Webster as Secretary of State. The President was not destined to fulfil the hopes of his friends. He was suddenly attacked with pneumonia, and died on the 4th of April—just one month after his inauguration.

It was the first time that a President of the United States had died in office, and a gloom was cast over the nation by the sad event. The mourning of the people was sincere, for in General Harrison the nation lost a faithful, upright, and able leader. He had spent forty years in prominent public positions, and had discharged every duty confided to him with ability and integrity, and went to his grave a poor man.

The office of President now, for the first time, devolved upon the Vice-President, John Tyler, who, by the death of General Harrison, became the tenth President of the United States. He was not in the City of Washington at the time of the death of his predecessor, but repaired to that city without loss of time, upon being notified of the death of General Harrison, and on the 6th of April took the oath of office before Judge Cranch, Chief-Justice of the District of Columbia. Mr. Tyler was in his fifty-second year, and had served as governor of Virginia, and as representative and senator in Congress from

that State. On the 9th of April President Tyler issued an address to the people of the United States, in which there was no indication of a departure from the policy announced in the inaugural of General Harrison. He retained the cabinet ministers of his predecessors in their respective positions.

The last years of Mr. Tyler's administration were devoted to the effort to secure the annexation



JOHN TYLER.

of the republic of Texas to the United States. The territory embraced within the limits of Texas constituted a part of the Spanish-American possessions, and was generally regarded as a part of Mexico.

In April, 1844, Texas formally applied for admission into the United States, and a treaty for that purpose was negotiated with her by the gov-

ernment of this country. It was rejected by the Senate.

In the fall of 1844 the presidential election took place. The leading political question of the day was the annexation of Texas. It was advocated by the administration of President Tyler and by the Democratic party. This party also made the claim of the United States to Oregon one of the leading issues of the campaign. Its candidates were James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania. The Whig party supported Henry Clay, of Kentucky, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, and opposed the annexation of Texas.

During this campaign, which was one of unusual excitement, the Anti-slavery party made its appearance for the first time as a distinct political organization, and nominated James G. Birney as its candidate for the Presidency.

The result of the campaign was a decisive victory for the Democrats. This success was generally regarded as an emphatic expression of the popular will respecting the Texas and Oregon questions.

The result of the election by the colleges was: 170 electoral votes for James K. Polk, for President, and 170 for George M. Dallas, for Vice-President; 105 for Henry Clay, for President, and 105 for Theodore Frelinghuysen, for Vice-President. By States the vote stood: 15 for the Democratic ticket, and 11 for the Whig ticket. Mr. Birney

received no electoral vote; but local returns showed that, out of the popular vote of upwards of two and a half millions, there were polled for him only 64,653. The fifteen States that voted for Mr. Polk were: Maine, New Hampshire, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, and Michigan; the eleven that voted for Mr. Clay were: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio.

After the expiration of his term of office, Mr. Tyler retired from the seat of Government to his residence in Virginia. His administration was a stormy one, but signalized by many important events. It was during this period that the electro-telegraphic system was established by Morse. A room was furnished him at the Capitol for his experimental operations in extending his wires to Baltimore; and among the first messages ever transmitted over them was the announcement of the nomination of Mr. Polk for the Presidency.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES K. POLK.

4th of March, 1845—4th of March, 1849.

James K. Polk, the eleventh President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845, in the 50th year of his age. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice

Taney, in the presence of a large assemblage of citizens. In his inaugural, the new President spoke favorably of the late action of Congress in relation to Texas, and asserted that the title of the United States to the whole of Oregon was clear and indisputable, and intimated his intention to maintain it by force if necessary.



JAMES K. POLK.

The new cabinet consisted of James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State; Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi, Secretary of the Treasury; William L. Marcy, of New York, Secretary of War; George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cave Johnson, of Tennessee,

Postmaster-General; and John Y. Mason, of Virginia, Attorney-General.

President Polk had served the country as governor of the State of Tennessee, and for fourteen years had been a member of Congress from that State, and had been chosen speaker of that body. Two important questions presented themselves to the new administration for settlement: the troubles with Mexico growing out of the annexation of Texas, and the arrangement of the northwestern boundary of the United States.

During the Presidential campaign of 1844 the Democratic party adopted as its watchword, "all of Oregon or none," and the excitement upon the question ran high. The election of Mr. Polk showed that the American people were resolved to insist upon their claim to Oregon, and when the new President in his inaugural address took the bold ground that the American title to "Oregon territory" "was clear and indisputable," and declared his intention to maintain it at the cost of war with England, the matter assumed a serious aspect, and for a while it seemed that party passion would involve the two countries in hostilities. President Polk, upon a calmer consideration of the subject, caused the secretary of state to reopen the negotiations by proposing to Great Britain the forty-ninth parallel of latitude as a boundary, and that was finally agreed upon.

During the fall of 1848 another Presidential

election came off. The combined elements of opposition to the administration, in the main, continued to bear the name of Whigs, though the anti-slavery element now formed a distinct organization known as "Free-Soilers." The Democratic party held their General Convention at Baltimore, on the 22d of May, and put in nomination for the Presidency General Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and for the Vice-Presidency General William O. Butler, of Kentucky. The Whigs held their Convention at Philadelphia on the 1st of June, and put in nomination for the Presidency General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, and for the Vice-Presidency Millard Fillmore, of New York. The Free-Soilers held their Convention at Buffalo, N. Y., on the 8th of August, and put in nomination for the Presidency Martin Van Buren, of New York, and for the Vice-Presidency Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts.

The result of the election was 163 electoral votes for the Whig ticket and 127 for the Democratic. The Free-Soil ticket received no electoral vote; but local returns showed that out of a popular vote of nearly 3,000,000, there were polled for it nearly 300,000 votes. The vote for Taylor and Fillmore by States stood 15; and for Cass and Butler 15 also. The 15 States that voted for Taylor and Fillmore were Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, North

Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Florida; the 15 that voted for Cass and Butler were Maine, New Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, Ohio, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Michigan, Texas, Iowa, and Wisconsin. Taylor and Fillmore, having received a majority of the electoral votes, were declared elected to the offices of President and Vice-President.

On the 4th of March, 1849, Mr. Polk retired to his home in Tennessee. His administration had been a stormy one. It will, however, always be distinguished in history by its eminently wise financial and revenue policy, the settlement of the Oregon question with England, and the immense acquisition of territory from Mexico. During its period also, great lustre was added to the military renown of the United States.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF TAYLOR AND FILLMORE.

4th of March, 1849—4th of March, 1853

The 4th of March, 1849, coming on Sunday General Taylor was duly inaugurated as the twelfth President of the United States on the next day, Monday, the 5th of that month, in the 65th year of his age. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney, in the presence of an immense concourse of people.

The new President was a native of Virginia,



ZACHARY TAYLOR.

but had removed with his parents to Kentucky at an early age, and had grown up to manhood on the frontiers of that State. In 1808, at the age of twenty-four, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the army by President Jefferson, and had spent forty years in the military service of the country. His exploits in the Florida war and brilliant victories in Mexico had made him the most popular man in the United States, and had won him the high office of the Presidency at the hands of his grateful fellow-citizens. He was without political experience, but he was a man of pure and stainless integrity, of great firmness, a sincere patriot, and possessed of strong good sense. He had received a majority of the electoral votes of both the Northern and Southern States, and was free from party or sectional ties of any kind. His inaugural address was brief, and was confined to a statement of general principles. His cabinet was composed of the leaders of the Whig party, with John M. Clayton, of Delaware, as Secretary of State. The last Congress had created a new executive department—that of the interior—to relieve the secretary of the treasury of a part of his duties, and President Taylor was called upon to appoint the first secretary of the interior, which he did in the person of Thomas Ewing, of Ohio. The new department was charged with the management of the public lands, the Indian tribes, and the issuing of patents to inventors.

Since the announcement of the Wilmot Proviso, the agitation of the slavery question had been incessant, and had increased instead of diminishing with each succeeding year. It was one of the chief topics of discussion in the newspaper press of the country, and entered largely into every political controversy, however local or insignificant in its nature. The opponents of slavery regarded the annexation of Texas and the Mexican war as efforts to extend that institution, and were resolved to put an end to its existence at any cost. The advocates of slavery claimed that the Southern States had an equal right to the common property of the States, and were entitled to protection for their slaves in any of the Territories then owned by the States or that might afterwards be acquired by them. The Missouri Compromise forbade the existence of slavery north of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude, and left the inhabitants south of that line free to decide upon their own institutions. The Anti-slavery party was resolved that slavery should be excluded from the territory acquired from Mexico, and in the Wilmot Proviso struck their first blow for the accomplishment of this purpose.

Upon the organization of the House President Taylor sent in his first and only message. He recognized the danger with which the sectional controversy threatened the country, expressed his views of the situation in moderate terms, and inti-

mated that he should faithfully discharge his duties to the whole country.

About the last of June, 1850, President Taylor was stricken down with a fever, which soon terminated fatally. He died on the 9th of July amid the grief of the whole country, which felt that it had lost a faithful and upright chief magistrate. Though the successful candidate of one political party, his administration had received the earnest support of the best men of the country without regard to party, and his death was a national calamity. He had held office only sixteen months, but had shown himself equal to his difficult and delicate position.

By the terms of the Constitution the office of President devolved upon Millard Fillmore, Vice-President of the United States. On the 10th of July he took the oath of office, and at once entered upon the duties of his new position.

Mr. Fillmore was a native of New York, and was born in that State in the year 1800. He had served his State in Congress, and as governor, and was personally one of the most popular of the Presidents. The cabinet of General Taylor resigned their offices immediately after his death, and the new President filled their places by appointing a new cabinet with Daniel Webster at its head as Secretary of State.

On the 4th of July, 1851, the corner-stone of the two new wings of the capitol was laid. Mr.

Webster delivered a speech on the occasion which was considered one of the greatest of his life. It was delivered to an immense audience, on a platform erected on the east side of the capitol. In it, among other things, he said:

“If it shall hereafter be the will of God that this structure shall fall from its base—that its foundations shall be upturned, and the deposit beneath this stone be brought to the eyes of men—be it then known that on this day the Union of the United States of America stands firm, that this Constitution still exists unimpaired, and, with all its usefulness and glory, is growing every day stronger in the affections of the great body of the American people, and attracting more and more the admiration of the world.”

During the fall of this year (1852) another Presidential election took place.

The Democratic party nominated Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, for President, and William R. King, of Alabama, for Vice-President. The Whig party nominated General Winfield Scott for President, and William A. Graham, of North Carolina, for Vice-President. The Anti-slavery party put in nomination John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana. The election resulted in the choice of the candidates of the Democratic party by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. King, the Vice-President elect, did not long

survive his triumph. His health had been delicate for many years, and he was obliged to pass the winter succeeding the election in Cuba. Being unable to return home, he took the oath of office before the American consul, at Havana, on the 4th of March. He then returned to the United States, and died at his home in Alabama on the 18th of April, 1853.

The result of the election was: 251 electoral votes for Pierce and King; and 42 for Scott and Graham; by States, 27 for Pierce and King, and 4 for Scott and Graham. The States which voted for General Scott were: Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The anti-slavery ticket received no electoral vote, but out of the popular vote of nearly 3,500,000, it polled 155,825 individual votes, being little over half of what it polled at the previous election.

In October, 1852, the whole country was again thrown into mourning by the announcement of the death of Mr. Webster, the last survivor of the great senatorial "trio," Clay, Calhoun and Webster.

They were regarded as the three greatest statesmen of the country in their day. They were all men of very great ability, of very different characters of mind, as well as styles of oratory. They differed also widely on many questions of public policy. But they were all true patriots in the highest sense of that term.

ADMINISTRATION OF PIERCE.

4th of March, 1853—4th of March, 1857.

On the 4th of March, 1853, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, the fourteenth President of the United States, was duly inaugurated in the 49th



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

year of his age. The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Taney.

General Pierce was an accomplished orator, and his inaugural address was delivered in his happiest style, in a tone of voice that was distinctly heard at a great distance. It was responded to by shouts from the surrounding multitudes.

The most important measure of Mr. Pierce's administration was the bill to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. The region embraced in these Territories formed a part of the Louisiana purchase, and extended from the borders of Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota to the summit of the Rocky mountains, and from the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude to the border of British America. This whole region by the terms of the Missouri Compromise had been secured to free labor by the exclusion of slavery.

The people engaged warmly in the discussion aroused by the reopening of the question of slavery in the Territories. The North resented the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and in the South a large and respectable party sincerely regretted the repeal of that settlement. By the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill the Thirty-third Congress assumed a grave responsibility, and opened the door to a bloody and bitter conflict in the Territories between slavery and free labor. The troubles in Kansas which followed gave rise to a new party which called itself Republican, and which was based upon an avowed hostility to the extension of slavery. A third party, called the American, or Know Nothing, also took part in the Presidential campaign of 1856, and was based upon the doctrine that the political offices of the country should be held only by persons of American birth. The Democratic party nominated James Buchanan, of

Pennsylvania, for the Presidency, and John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, for the Vice-Presidency. The Republican nominee for the Presidency was John C. Fremont, of California; for the Vice-Presidency William L. Dayton, of New Jersey. The American or Know Nothing party supported Millard Fillmore, of New York, for the Presidency, and Andrew J. Donelson, of Tennessee, for the Vice-Presidency. The Whig party had been broken to pieces by its defeat in 1852, and had now entirely disappeared.

The canvass was unusually excited. Slavery was the principal question in dispute. Party ties had little influence upon men. The sentiment of the nation at large had been outraged by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and thousands of Democrats, desiring to rebuke their party for its course in bringing about this repeal, united with the Republican party, which declared as its leading principle that it was "both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—polygamy and slavery."

The elections resulted in the triumph of James Buchanan, the candidate of the Democratic party. Mr. Buchanan received 174 electoral votes; General Fremont 114, and Fillmore 8. The vote by States was: 19 for the Democratic ticket; 11 for the Republican, and 1 for the American. The nineteen States that voted for Mr. Buchanan were:

New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Mississippi, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, Texas, and California. The eleven that voted for Fremont were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The one that voted for Fillmore was Maryland.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES BUCHANAN.

March 4th, 1857—March 4th, 1861.

James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, the fifteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1857, in the 66th year of his age, and was a statesman of ripe experience. The oath of office was administered by Chief Justice Taney. His inaugural was conciliatory, and approbatory of the principles of the Kansas and Nebraska bill upon which he had been elected. He was born in Pennsylvania, in 1791, and was by profession a lawyer. He had served his State in Congress as a representative and a senator, had been minister to Russia under President Jackson, and had been a member of the Cabinet of President Polk, as Secretary of State. During the four years previous to his election to the Presidency, he had resided abroad as the Minister of the United States to Great Britain, and in that capac-



JAMES BUCHANAN.

ity had greatly added to his reputation as a statesman. The intense sectional feeling which the discussion of the slavery question had aroused had alarmed patriotic men in all parts of the Union, and it was earnestly hoped that Mr. Buchanan's administration would be able to effect a peaceful settlement of the quarrel. Mr. Buchanan selected his Cabinet from the leading men of the Democratic party. Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was appointed Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; John B. Floyd, of Virginia, Secretary of War; Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, Secretary of Interior; Aaron V. Brown, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General, and Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General. The two leading subjects which immediately engaged the attention of the new administration were the state of affairs in Utah on the one hand, and Kansas on the other.

On the night of the 16th of October, 1859, John Brown, who had acquired a considerable notoriety as the leader of a Free Soil company during the war in Kansas, entered the State of Virginia, at Harper's Ferry, with a party of twenty-one men, and seized the United States arsenal at that place. He then sent out parties to induce the negro slaves to join him, his avowed object being to put an end to slavery in Virginia by exciting an insurrection of the slaves. Several citizens were kidnapped by

these parties, but the slaves refused to join Brown, or to take any part in the insurrection.

The effect of Brown's attempt upon the Southern people was most unfortunate. They regarded it as unanswerable evidence of the intention of the people of the North to make war upon them under the cover of the Union. The John Brown raid was the most powerful argument that had ever been placed in the hands of the disunionists, and in the alarm and excitement produced by that event, the Southern people lost sight of the fact that the great mass of the Northern people sincerely deplored and condemned the action of Brown and his supporters.

While the excitement was at its height the Presidential campaign opened in the spring of 1860. The slavery question was the chief issue in this struggle. The Convention of the Democratic party met at Charleston, in April, but being unable to effect an organization, adjourned to Baltimore, and reassembled in that city in June. The extreme Southern delegates were resolved that the convention should be committed to the protection of slavery in the Territories by Congress, and failing to control it withdrew from it in a body, and organized a separate convention, which they declared represented the Democratic party, but which, in reality, as the vote subsequently proved, represented but a minority of that party.

The original convention, after the withdrawal

of these delegates, nominated for the Presidency Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, and for the Vice-Presidency Herschell V. Johnson, of Georgia. It then proceeded to adopt the platform put forward by the entire party four years before, at Cincinnati, upon the nomination of Mr. Buchanan, with this additional declaration: "That as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress under the Constitution of the United States over the institution of slavery within the Territories, . . . the party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the questions of constitutional law."

The "Seceders' Convention," as it was commonly called, also adopted the Cincinnati platform, and pledged themselves to non-interference by Congress with slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia. This party held to the doctrine that the Constitution recognized slavery as existing in the Territories, and sanctioned and protected it there, and that neither Congress nor the people of the Territories could frame any law against slavery until the admission of such Territories into the Union as States. The "Seceders' Convention" put forward as its candidate for the Presidency John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and for the Vice-Presidency Joseph Lane, of Oregon.

The Republican party took issue with both wings

of the Democratic party. Its convention was held at Chicago, Illinois, and its candidates were, for President, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and for Vice-President Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine. The platform of principles adopted by the Republican Convention declared that "the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal Constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions. . . . That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights."

A fourth party, known as the "American or Constitutional Union Party," proclaimed as its platform the following vague sentence: "The constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." The convention of this party met at Baltimore, and nominated for the Presidency John Bell, of Tennessee, and for the Vice-Presidency Edward Everett, of Massachusetts.

The contest between these parties was bitter beyond all precedent, and resulted as follows:

Popular vote for Lincoln,	.	1,866,452
" " Douglas,	.	1,375,157
" " Breckinridge,		847,953
" " Bell,	.	590,631

The electoral vote stood as follows: For Lincoln, 180; for Breckinridge, 72; for Bell, 39; for Douglas, 12.

Mr. Lincoln was thus elected by a plurality of the popular vote, which secured for him the electoral votes of eighteen States. These States were entirely north of the sectional line, and he received not a single electoral vote from a Southern State. The States which cast their electoral votes for Breckinridge, Bell, and Douglas, were entirely slaveholding. The division thus made was alarming. It was the first time in the history of the republic that a President had been elected by the votes of a single section of the Union.

The eighteen States that voted for Mr. Lincoln, under the plurality count of the popular vote, were: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, California, Minnesota, and Oregon. The eleven that voted for Mr. Breckinridge were: Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas. The three that so voted for Mr. Bell were: Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee; and the one that so voted for Mr. Douglas was Missouri. Mr. Lincoln did not receive the majority of the popular vote in but sixteen of the thirty-three States then constituting the Union; so he had been constitutionally elected, without having received a majority of the popular vote of the States or of the people.

ADMINISTRATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

March 4th, 1861—April 15th, 1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, the sixteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1861. As it was feared that an attempt would be made to prevent the inauguration, the city was held by a strong body of regular troops, under General Scott, and the President elect was escorted from his hotel to the capitol by a military force. No effort was made to interfere with the ceremonies, and the inauguration passed off quietly.

The new President was in his fifty-third year, and was a native of Kentucky. When he was but eight years old his father removed to Indiana, and the boyhood of the future President was spent in hard labor upon the farm. Until he reached manhood he continued to lead this life, and during this entire period attended school for only a year. At the age of twenty-one he removed to Illinois, where he began life as a storekeeper. Being anxious to rise above his humble position, he determined to study law. He was too poor to buy the necessary books, and so borrowed them from a neighboring lawyer, read them at night, and returned them in the morning. His genial character, great good nature, and love of humor, won him

the friendship of the people among whom he resided, and they elected him to the lower house of the legislature of Illinois. He now abandoned his mercantile pursuits, and began the practice of the law, and was subsequently elected a representative



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to Congress from the Springfield district. He took an active part in the politics of his State, and in 1858 was the candidate of the Republican party for United States senator. In this capacity he engaged in a series of debates in various parts of the

State with Senator Douglas, the Democratic candidate for re-election to the same position. This debate was remarkable for its brilliancy and intellectual vigor, and brought him prominently before the whole country, and opened the way to his nomination for the Presidency. In person he was tall and ungainly, and in manner he was rough and awkward, little versed in the refinements of society. He was a man, however, of great natural vigor of intellect, and was possessed of a fund of strong common sense, which enabled him to see at a glance through the shams by which he was surrounded, and to pursue his own aims with singleness of heart and directness of purpose. He had sprung from the ranks of the people, and he was never false to them. He was a simple, unaffected, kind-hearted man; anxious to do his duty to the whole country; domestic in his tastes and habits; and incorruptible in every relation of life. He was fond of humor, and overflowed with it; finding in his "little stories" the only relaxation he ever sought from the heavy cares of the trying position upon which he was now entering. He selected his cabinet from the leading men of the Republican party, and placed William H. Seward, of New York, as Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of the Navy; Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, Secretary of the

Interior; Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, Post master-General; and Edward Bates, of Missouri, Attorney-General.

The Great Civil War was the all-important event of Mr. Lincoln's administration.

In 1864 the next Presidential election was held. The Republican National Convention met at Baltimore, June 7, and adopted a platform declaring war upon slavery, and demanding that no terms but unconditional surrender should be given to the rebellious States. It nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President, and Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, for Vice-President.

The latter was a United States Senator when his State allied itself to the Confederacy. He, however, continued to hold his seat, and was the only Senator from any of the States, who did so after the withdrawal of their States from the Federal Union.

The Democratic Convention met at Chicago August 29, and nominated for the Presidency General George B. McClellan, of the Federal army, and for the Vice-Presidency, George H. Pendleton, of Ohio. The result was Messrs. Lincoln and Johnson carried the electoral votes of every State except three, to wit: New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky; of the popular vote the Democratic ticket received 1,802,237, against 2,213,665 cast for Lincoln and Johnson.

Abraham Lincoln having been duly elected was

inaugurated for his second term on the 4th of March, 1865. On the night of April 14th, President Lincoln was assassinated at Ford's Theatre, in Washington City, by John Wilkes Booth.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JOHNSON.

15th of April, 1865—4th of March, 1869.

Upon the death of Mr. Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, the Vice-President, by the terms of the Constitution, became President of the United States. He took the oath of office on the 15th of April, and at once entered upon the discharge of his duties. His first act was to retain all the members of the Cabinet appointed by Mr. Lincoln.

Mr. Johnson was a native of North Carolina, having been born in Raleigh, on the 29th of December, 1808. At the age of ten he was bound as an apprentice to a tailor of that city. He was at this time unable to read or write. Some years later, being determined to acquire an education, he learned the alphabet from a fellow-workman, and a friend taught him spelling. He was soon able to read, and pursued his studies steadily, working ten or twelve hours a day at his trade, and studying two or three more. In 1826 he removed to Greenville, Tennessee. He was subsequently chosen alderman of his town, and with this election entered upon his political career. Studying law he abandoned tailoring, and devoted himself to legal pursuits and politics. He was



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successively chosen Mayor, Member of the Legislature, Presidential elector, and State Senator. He was twice elected Governor of Tennessee, and three times a Senator of the United States from that State. Upon the secession of Tennessee from the Union, he refused to relinquish his seat in the Senate, and remained faithful to the cause of the Union throughout the war, winning considerable reputation during the struggle by his services in behalf of the national cause. He was an earnest, honest-hearted man, who sincerely desired to do his duty to the country. His mistakes were due to his temperament, and proceeded from no desire to serve his own interests or those of any party. In his public life he was incorruptible. A man of ardent nature, strong convictions, and indomitable will, it was not possible that he should avoid errors, or fail to stir up a warm and determined opposition to his policy.

The first duty devolving upon the new administration was the disbanding of the army, which at the close of the war numbered over a million of men. It was prophesied by foreign nations and feared by many persons at home, that the sudden return of such a large body of men to the pursuits of civil life would be attended with serious evils, but both the Union and the Confederate soldiers went back quietly and readily to their old avocations. Thus did these citizen-soldiers give to the world a splendid exhibition of the triumph of law

and order in a free country, and a proof of the stability of our institutions.

The restoration of the Southern States to their places in the Union was the most important work of Mr. Johnson's administration.

In the fall of 1868 another Presidential election was held. The Republican party nominated General Ulysses S. Grant for the Presidency, and Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, for the Vice-Presidency. The Democratic party nominated Horatio Seymour, of New York, for the Presidency, and Frank P. Blair, of Missouri, for the Vice-Presidency. The election resulted in the choice of General Grant by a popular vote of 2,985,031 to 2,648,830 votes cast for Mr. Seymour. In the electoral college Grant received 217 votes and Seymour 77. The States of Virginia, Mississippi and Texas were not allowed to take part in this election, being still out of the Union.

ADMINISTRATION OF ULYSSES S. GRANT.

4th of March, 1869—4th of March, 1877.

Ulysses S. Grant, the eighteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington with imposing ceremonies on the 4th of March, 1869. He was born at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, on the 27th of April, 1822. His father was a tanner, and wished him to follow his trade, but the boy had more ambitious hopes, and at the age of seven-

teen a friend secured for him an appointment as a cadet at West Point, where he was educated. Upon graduating he entered the army. Two years later he was sent to Mexico, and served through the war with that country with distinc-



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tion. He was specially noticed by his commanders, and was promoted for gallant conduct. Soon after the close of the war he resigned his commission, and remained in civil life and obscurity until the breaking out of the civil war, when he volun-

teered his services, and was commissioned by Governor Yates Colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois regiment. He was soon made a Brigadier-General, and fought his first battle at Belmont. His subsequent career has been related in all histories of the Great Civil War. He selected the members of his Cabinet more because of his personal friendship for them than for their weight and influence in the party that had elected him.

General Grant was the fifth President whose military achievements had contributed more to his election to this high office than any services rendered in the civil departments of the government. His inaugural, delivered before an immense crowd of enthusiastic admirers, on the east portico of the capitol, was brief and pointed. He was no orator, and his address on this occasion was rehearsed from a manuscript before him. It might be characterized as a good specimen of the "*multum in parvo*." He said "he should have no policy of his own, except to carry out the will of the people, as expressed by the legislative department, and expounded by the judiciary. Laws," said he, "are to govern all alike, those opposed, as well as those who favor them. I know of no method to secure the repeal of bad or obnoxious laws so effective as their stringent execution." The oath of office was administered by Chief-Justice Chase.

His cabinet consisted at first of Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, Secretary of State; Alexander

T. Stewart, of New York, Secretary of the Treasury; John D. Rawlins, of Illinois, who had been his chief of staff from the beginning of the great war until its termination, Secretary of War; Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior; John A. J. Cresswell, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; and Ebenezer R. Hoar, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

Several changes in the cabinet were afterwards made, the most notable of which were George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Treasury, instead of Alexander T. Stewart, the famous merchant of New York. Soon after the confirmation of the latter by the Senate, it was ascertained that he was ineligible under the law, because of his being engaged in commerce. Mr. Washburne also gave up his place to accept the position of Minister to France, and the vacant Secretaryship of the State Department was given to Hamilton Fish of New York.

The President on the 20th of March, 1870, issued a proclamation announcing that the Fifteenth Amendment had been duly ratified by a sufficient number of States, and therefore declared it to be part of the Constitution of the United States.

In the fall of 1872, another presidential election occurred. The canvass was marked by the most intense partisan bitterness. The Republican party renominated General Grant for the presidency, and

supported Henry Wilson for the vice-presidency. The measures of the administration had arrayed a large number of Republicans against it. These now organized themselves as the Liberal Republican party, and nominated Horace Greeley of New York for the presidency, and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for the vice-presidency. The Democratic party made no nominations, and its convention indorsed the candidates of the Liberal Republican party. The election resulted in the triumph of the Republican candidates by overwhelming majorities.

The elections were scarcely over when the country was saddened by the death of Horace Greeley. He had been one of the founders of the Republican party, and had been closely identified with the political history of the country for over thirty years. He was the "Founder of the *New York Tribune*," and had done good service with his journal in behalf of the cause he believed to be founded in right. He was a man of simple and childlike character, utterly unaffected, and generous to a fault. In his manner and dress he was eccentric, but nature had made him a true gentleman at heart. His intellectual ability was conceded by all. His experience in public life and his natural disposition induced him to favor a policy of conciliation in the settlement of the reconstruction question, and, influenced by these convictions, he signed the bail-bond of Jefferson Davis and secured the release of the fallen leader of the South from his

imprisonment. This act cost him a large part of his popularity in the North. He accepted the presidential nomination of the Liberal party in the belief that his election would aid in bringing about a better state of feeling between the North and the South. He was attacked by his political opponents with a bitterness which caused him much suffering, and many of his old friends deserted him and joined in the warfare upon him. Just before the close of the canvass, his wife, to whom he was tenderly attached, died, and his grief for her and the excitement caused by the political contest broke him down and unsettled his mind. He was conveyed by his friends to a private asylum, where he died on the 29th of November, 1872, in the sixty-second year of his age. The result of the election by States was 286 electoral votes for Grant, for President, 286 for Wilson, for Vice-President, and 47 for B. Gratz Brown, for Vice-President.

Mr. Greeley having died soon after the election, and before the meeting of the Electoral Colleges, the electoral votes that he carried at the popular election (only 65) were cast in the colleges for a number of persons whose names had never been connected with the office.

The votes by States for Grant were Alabama, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, New Hampshire, New

Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, West Virginia, Virginia, Vermont, Wisconsin—29. Those casting electoral votes against Grant were Maryland, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Texas—6. The electoral votes of the States of Arkansas and Louisiana were not counted.

On the 4th day of July, 1876, the United States of America completed the one hundredth year of their existence as an independent nation. The day was celebrated with imposing ceremonies and with the most patriotic enthusiasm in all parts of the Union. The celebrations began on the night of the 3d of July, and were kept up until midnight on the 4th. Each of the great cities of the Union vied with the others in the splendor and completeness of its rejoicings; but the most interesting of all the celebrations was naturally that which was held at Philadelphia, in which city the Declaration of Independence was adopted.

In the summer of 1876 the various political parties met in their respective conventions to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States, which officers were to be chosen at the general election in November. The Republican Convention assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 14th of June, and resulted in the nomination of Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, for President of the United States, and of William A. Wheeler, of New York, for Vice-

President. The Democratic Convention was held at St. Louis on the 27th of June, and nominated Governor Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, for the Presidency, and Governor Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for the Vice-Presidency. A third Convention, representing the Independent Greenback party, met at Indianapolis on the 18th of May, and nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, for President, and Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, for Vice-President.

The campaign which followed these nominations was one of intense bitterness, and was in many respects the most remarkable the country has ever witnessed.

The election was held on the 7th of November. The popular vote was as follows :

For Samuel J. Tilden.....	4,284,265
“ Rutherford B. Hayes.....	4,033,295
“ Peter Cooper.....	81,737

Tilden thus received a popular majority of 250,970 votes over Hayes, and a majority of 169,233 votes over both Hayes and Cooper.

Both sides claimed the success of their tickets. In several of the States there were two returns. Three hundred and sixty-nine was the aggregate number of votes of the electoral college. It required 185 to elect. The advocates of Tilden and Hendricks maintained that by right they were entitled to the electoral votes of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, which would give them an

aggregate of 203 votes; but that if the votes of these three States, amounting to 19, were given to Hayes and Wheeler, Tilden and Hendricks would still have 184 undisputed votes, and that they were clearly entitled to one vote from Oregon, which would give them 185—the requisite majority. Meantime the Republican leaders maintained that upon a right count of the vote of the four States in dispute Hayes and Wheeler had the majority. Leading Republicans in Congress maintained that the presiding officer of the Senate had a right to count the votes as sent up from the several States, and to decide questions of dispute between different returning boards. The Democrats proposed that the matter should be settled and adjusted under the previously existing joint rule of the two Houses on the subject of counting the electoral votes. This the Republicans refused to do. The condition of affairs was assuming a threatening aspect, when a proposition was made to provide by law for a Joint High Commission to whom the whole subject should be referred. This was to consist of five members of the House, five of the Senate, and five of the Supreme Court. The five Judges of the Supreme Court were Clifford, Miller, Field, Strong, and Bradley; the Senators were Edmunds, Morton, Frelinghuysen, Bayard, and Thurman; the members of the House were Payne, Hunton, Abbott, Garfield, and Hoar.

To the commission thus constituted, the whole subject was referred by special act of Congress.

The two Houses of Congress met in joint convention on the 1st of February, 1877, and began the counting of the electoral vote. When the vote of Florida was reached, three certificates were presented and were referred to the Electoral Commission. This body, upon hearing the arguments of the counsel of the Democratic and Republican parties, decided that it had no power to go behind the action of the Return Board, and that the certificate of that body giving the vote of that State to Hayes must be accepted by the two Houses of Congress. The vote by which this decision was reached stood eight (all Republicans) in favor of it, and seven (all Democrats) against it. A similar conclusion was come to in the case of Louisiana. Objections were made to the reception of the votes of Oregon and South Carolina. In the Oregon case the decision was *unanimously* in favor of counting the votes of the Hayes electors. In the South Carolina case the commission decided that the Democratic electors were not lawfully chosen; but on the motion to give the State to Hayes the vote stood 8 yeas to 7 nays. So South Carolina was counted for Hayes. Objection was made on the ground of ineligibility to certain electors from Michigan, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin, but the objections were not sustained by the two Houses.

This Commission made its final report on all the cases submitted to them, on the 2d day of March,

and according to their decision, Hayes and Wheeler received 185 votes, and Tilden and Hendricks 184 votes. The States that voted for Hayes and Wheeler were California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, Ohio, Oregon, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Vermont and Wisconsin; and those which voted for Tilden and Hendricks were Alabama, Arkansas; Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

General Grant, on the expiration of his second term, retired from office, but remained in Washington City, receiving marked demonstrations of the admiration of his friends for some months, before starting upon an extensive travel through Europe and around the world.

ADMINISTRATION OF RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

4th of March, 1877—4th of March, 1881.

Rutherford B. Hayes, the nineteenth President of the United States, was inaugurated at Washington on Monday, March 5th, 1877. As the 4th of March fell on Sunday, the President-elect simply took the oath of office on that day. The inaugural ceremonies were carried out on the 5th at the



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

capitol with the usual pomp and parade, and in the presence of an enormous multitude of citizens and visiting military organizations from all parts of the country. After the customary reception by the Senate, the new President was escorted to the eastern portico of the capitol, where he delivered his inaugural address to the assembled multitude, after which the oath of office was publicly administered to him by Chief-Justice Waite.

The new President was a native of Ohio, having been born at Delaware, in that State, on the 4th of October, 1822. He graduated at Kenyon College, Ohio, and obtained his professional education at the law school, Cambridge, Mass. He began the practice of law at Cincinnati in 1856. Soon after the opening of the war he enlisted in the Twenty-third Ohio Volunteers, with which regiment he served as major, lieutenant-colonel and colonel. He led his regiment, which formed a part of General Reno's division, at the battle of South Mountain, in September, 1862, and was severely wounded in the arm in that engagement. In the fall of 1862 he was made colonel of the regiment, and in 1864 was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general of volunteers, and was brevetted major-general, "for gallant and distinguished services during the campaigns of 1864 in West Virginia, and particularly in the battles of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek." At the time of this last promotion he was in command of a division. He served

until the close of the war, receiving four wounds and having five horses shot under him during his military career. In the fall of 1864 he was elected to Congress, and was returned a second time in 1866. In 1867, before the expiration of his Congressional term, he was elected Governor of Ohio, and was re-elected to that office in 1869, being each time the candidate of the Republican party. In 1870 General Hayes was again elected to Congress, and in 1874 was nominated for a third term as Governor of Ohio. His opponent was Governor William Allen, one of the most popular of the Democratic leaders of Ohio. General Hayes was elected by a handsome majority. He resigned this office in March, 1877, to enter upon his new duties as President of the United States.

President Hayes selected as his cabinet William M. Evarts, of New York, Secretary of State; John Sherman, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, Secretary of War; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, Secretary of the Navy; Carl Schurz, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; David M. Key, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; and Charles E. Devens, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General. The cabinet was of a composite character and generally regarded as a very conservative one. Mr. Hayes, early in his administration, adopted several reforms in the civil service, one of which was not to allow Federal office-holders to take active part in elections.

Few Presidents were ever so embarrassed upon entering on the duties of the office as he was. At this time the States of South Carolina and Louisiana were in a *quasi* civil war. Two Governors in each were claiming to be entitled to the executive chair. Two legislatures in each were also claiming to be rightfully entitled to the law-making power.

Mr. Hayes displayed the most consummate skill in the conduct and settlement of these most embarrassing questions. In the summer of 1880 the various political parties of the country met in Convention to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States. The Republican Convention met in Chicago on the 2d of June, and nominated James A. Garfield, of Ohio, for President, and Chester A. Arthur, of New York, for Vice-President. (The platform and all the ballots of this convention will be found in another part of this work.) The Democratic Convention met in Cincinnati, on the 22d of June, and nominated Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, for President, and William H. English, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The Greenback Convention met at Chicago, on the 9th of June, and nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for President, and B. J. Chambers, of Texas, for Vice-President.

The election was held on the 2d of November, and resulted in the choice of General James A.

Garfield, who received 214 electoral votes to 155 electoral votes cast for General Hancock.

The States that voted for Garfield and Arthur were: Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin; and those that voted for Hancock and English were: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia.

The State of California was divided. She cast one vote for Garfield and Arthur, and five for Hancock and English. .

The last days of Mr. Hayes' administration were the happiest he spent in the White House. At the close of his term, he retired to his residence at Fremont, Ohio, followed by the good will of millions of his fellow-citizens.

ADMINISTRATION OF GARFIELD.

4th of March, 1881—19th of September, 1881.

On Friday, March 4th, 1881, the inauguration ceremonies took place upon a scale of unusual magnificence, and were participated in by numerous military and civic organizations, and by thousands of citizens from all parts of the country. After the

new Vice-President had taken the oath of office, President-elect Garfield was formally received by the Senate, and escorted to the eastern portico of the capitol, where, in the presence of an immense multitude of citizens and soldiery, he delivered



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

an able and eloquent inaugural address, and took the oath of office at the hands of Chief-Justice Waite.

The new President had been long and favorably

known to his countrymen. He was in his fiftieth year, and in vigorous health. A man of commanding presence, he was dignified and courteous in his demeanor, accessible to the humblest citizen, and deservedly popular with men of all parties. Born a poor boy, without influential friends, he had by his own efforts secured a thorough collegiate education, and had carefully fitted himself for the arduous duties he was now called upon to discharge. Entering the army at the outbreak of the civil war, he had won a brilliant reputation as a soldier, and been promoted to the rank of Major-General of volunteers. Elected to Congress from Ohio, in 1862, he had entered the House of Representatives in December, 1863, and had seen almost eighteen years of constant service in that body, in which he had long ranked as one of the most brilliant and trusted leaders of the Republican party. Early in 1880 he had been chosen a United States Senator from Ohio, but had been prevented from taking his seat in the Senate by his election to the Presidency. Immediately after his inauguration the names of the new cabinet were sent to the Senate, and were confirmed without opposition. James G. Blaine, of Maine, was Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, was Secretary of the Treasury; Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, son of ex-President Abraham Lincoln, was Secretary of War; William H. Hunt, of Louisiana, was Secretary of the Navy; Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, was Sec-

retary of the Interior ; Thomas L. James, of New York, was Postmaster-General, and Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania, was Attorney-General.

The Cabinet was regarded, generally, as one very judiciously selected, being all men of marked ability, though of somewhat different shades of opinion in the Republican party.

As the time wore on, President Garfield gained steadily in the esteem of his countrymen. His purpose to give to the nation a fair and just administration of the government was every day more apparent, and his high and noble qualities became more conspicuous. Men began to feel for the first time in many years that the Executive chair was occupied by a President capable of conceiving a pure and noble standard of duty, and possessed of the firmness and strength of will necessary to carry it into execution. The country was prosperous, and there was every reason to expect a continuance of the general happiness.

On the morning of July 2d, President Garfield, accompanied by a distinguished party, including several members of the Cabinet, preceeded to the Baltimore and Potomac depot, in Washington, to take the cars for Long Branch. The President arrived in company with Secretary Blaine. They left the President's carriage together, and walked arm-in-arm into the depot. In passing through the ladies' waiting-room, the President was fired at twice by a man named Charles J. Guiteau. The

first shot inflicted a slight wound in the President's right arm, and the second a terrible wound in the right side of his back, between the hip and the kidney. The President fell heavily to the floor, and the assassin was secured as he was seeking to make his escape from the building.

The whole city was thrown into the greatest consternation and agitation when swift-winged rumor bore the news through every street and avenue, that the President had been assassinated! The wires carried the same consternation throughout the length and breadth of the Union, as well as to foreign nations.

In the meantime, the suffering President received every attention that could be given. He was borne as soon as possible to the Executive mansion, where many eminent surgeons of the country were soon summoned to his bedside; but no permanent relief was given. The ball was not found, and he continued to suffer and languish for weeks. His physicians thought it best to remove him to Long Branch. Suitable and comfortable arrangements were made for his travel from the White House to Francklyn Cottage, at Elberon, at that place, and his journey was successfully performed on the 6th of September.

Here he continued to languish, with intervals of hopeful improvement until he suddenly grew worse on the 18th, and finally expired quietly at 10.35 P. M., on the 19th of September.

His remains were taken to Washington and lay in state in the rotunda of the capitol, after which they were conveyed to Cleveland, Ohio, and there interred with the most solemn and impressive ceremonies. Never before was there such universal and unfeigned sorrow over the death of any public official.

On the night of the death of the President at Elberon, the members of the Cabinet present joined in sending the following telegram to Mr. Arthur, the Vice-President, who was at that time in the city of New York :

“ It becomes our painful duty to inform you of the death of President Garfield, and to advise you to take the oath of office without delay.”

Mr. Arthur, as advised by Mr. Garfield's Cabinet, immediately took the oath of office before Judge Brady, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the State of New York.

On the 22d of September President Arthur again took the oath of office, this time at the hands of the Chief-Justice of the United States, and was quietly inaugurated in the Vice-President's room, in the Capitol at Washington, delivering upon this occasion a brief inaugural address.

President Arthur entered quietly upon the duties of his administration, and his first acts were satisfactory to a majority of his countrymen. As he had been the leader of “ the Stalwart ” section of the Republican party, it was felt by the mem-

bers of the Cabinet of the late President that he should be free to choose his own advisers. Therefore, immediately upon his accession to the Executive chair, Mr. Blaine and his colleagues tendered



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

him their resignations. They were requested, however, by the new President to retain their offices until he could find suitable successors to

them. To this they agreed, but before the year was out several important changes had been made in the Cabinet. The principal of these were the substitution of Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, for Mr. Blaine, as Secretary of State, and the appointment of Judge Charles J. Folger, of Ohio, to the Treasury Department.

One of the first acts of the new administration was to cause the indictment of Charles J. Guiteau for the murder of President Garfield. After some delay the trial of the assassin began on the 14th of November. It ended on the 25th of January, 1882, in the conviction of Guiteau for the murder of the late President.

The execution took place in the District jail on the 30th of June, 1882, and was witnessed by about 200 people, many of whom were representatives of the press.

The administration of President Arthur resulted in the prosperity of the whole country, and was satisfactory to the mass of the people.

ADMINISTRATION OF GROVER CLEVELAND.

THE twenty-second President of the United States was Grover Cleveland. Mr. Cleveland was a native of New Jersey, and was born in Caldwell, Essex Co., March 18, 1837. He came from sturdy New England stock, many of his ancestors having held honorable positions in their respective localities. Some of them were ministers, of which



PRESIDENT GROVER CLEVELAND.

number was President Cleveland's father. The training in the family was such as to make the boys, of whom there were several, upright, self-reliant, acquainted with public affairs, and qualified for useful life.

President Cleveland, after teaching two or three years, studied law in Buffalo, was admitted to the bar, became sheriff of the county, and, having received the nomination for Governor of New York, was elected by a large majority. This was followed by his nomination in the Democratic Convention of 1884 and his election in the following November.

With very imposing ceremonies Mr. Cleveland was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1885. His inaugural address was a clear, manly and forcible presentation of the duties belonging to his high office, with some suggestions concerning the vital questions of the hour.

President Cleveland's administration was characterized by a conservative policy, a desire to purify official life, a bold and vigorous dealing with the tariff question, and a careful guarding of the public treasury. At the close of the third year of his administration the Democratic party naturally looked to him to be their standard-bearer during the ensuing campaign.

Appendix A.

FIGURES are said to be dry, but figures sometimes have a large meaning. They are the skeleton, and no body would be good for much without the skeleton. It is all a question of figures as to whether a man is a millionaire or a pauper, whether he is elected to the highest office in the gift of the people or suffers inglorious defeat. Figures are mighty; they tell thrilling tales; they rule the world.

The next morning after an exciting election every one wishes to know what figures have to say. The following pages will be no less interesting as records of history. You will find it profitable to study the contests of party and the results of the great campaigns as expressed in these tables. They present the cold, hard facts; they have the force that always goes with statistics. The reader will see that the two great political parties are very evenly matched; neither has an overwhelming advantage over the other in the popular vote. This appendix also gives a full list of Government Officers, Members of Congress, and Diplomatic Corps.

1860.

States.	Lincoln, R.	Douglas, D.	Breckinridge, D.	Bell, U.
Alabama,	.....	13651	48831	27875
Arkansas,	.....	5227	23732	20094
California,	39173	38516	34334	6817
Colorado,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut,	43792	15522	14641	3291
Delaware,	3815	1023	7337	3864
Florida,	.....	367	8543	5437
Georgia,	.....	11590	51889	42886
Illinois,	172161	160215	2404	4913
Indiana,	139033	115509	12295	5306
Iowa,	70409	55111	1048	1763
Kansas,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Kentucky,	1364	25651	53143	66058
Louisiana,	.....	7625	22681	20204
Maine,	62811	26693	6368	2046
Maryland,	2294	5966	42482	41760
Massachusetts,	106533	34372	5939	22331
Michigan,	88480	65057	805	405
Minnesota,	22069	11920	748	62
Mississippi,	.....	3283	40797	25040
Missouri,	17028	58081	31317	58372
Nebraska,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Nevada,	.....	5801	.....	.....
New Hampshire,	37519	22811	2212	441
New Jersey,	58324	62500	.....	.....
New York,	362646	312731	.....	.....
North Carolina,	.....	.....	48539	44990
Ohio,	231610	18822	11403	12194
Oregon,	5270	3951	5006	183
Pennsylvania,	268030	16765	178871	12776
Rhode Island,	12244	7707	.....	.....
South Carolina,	Electors chosen by Legislature.			
Tennessee,	.....	11350	64709	69274
Texas,	.....	.....	47548	15438
Vermont,	33808	6849	218	1969
Virginia,	1929	16290	74323	74681
West Virginia,	.....	.....	.....	.....
Wisconsin,	86110	65021	888	161
Totals,	1866452	1375157	847953	590631

States.	Electoral Vote.	1868.		1864.	
		Grant, R.	Seymour, D.	Lincoln, R.	McClellan, D.
Alabama,	10	76366	72086	.....	.....
Arkansas,	6	22152	10078	.....	.....
California,	6	54592	54078	62134	43841
Colorado,	3	.....	.....	.....	.....
Connecticut,	6	50996	47951	44691	42285
Delaware,	3	7623	10980	8155	8767
Florida,	4	Electors chosen by Legislature.			
Georgia,	11	57134	102822	.....	.....
Illinois,	21	256293	199143	189996	158730
Indiana,	15	176552	166980	150422	130233
Iowa,	11	120399	74040	89075	40596
Kansas,	5	31047	14019	16441	3691
Kentucky,	12	39569	115889	27786	64301
Louisiana,	8	33263	80225	.....	.....
Maine,	7	70426	42396	6814	46992
Maryland,	8	30438	62357	40153	32739
Massachusetts,	13	136477	59408	126742	48745
Michigan,	11	128550	97009	91521	74604
Minnesota,	5	43542	28072	21060	17375
Mississippi,	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Missouri,	15	85671	59788	72750	31678
Nebraska,	3	9729	5439	.....	.....
Nevada,	3	6480	5218	9826	6594
New Hampshire,	5	38191	31224	36400	32871
New Jersey,	9	80121	83001	60723	68024
New York,	35	410883	429883	368732	361986
North Carolina,	10	96226	84090	.....	.....
Ohio,	22	280128	237800	265154	205568
Oregon,	3	10961	11125	9888	8457
Pennsylvania,	29	342280	313382	296391	276316
Rhode Island,	4	12903	6548	14349	8718
South Carolina,	7	62301	45237	.....	.....
Tennessee,	12	56757	26311	.....	.....
Texas,	8	.....	.....	.....	.....
Vermont,	5	44167	12045	42419	13321
Virginia,	11	.....	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia,	5	29025	20306	23152	10438
Wisconsin,	10	108857	84710	83458	65884
Totals,	369	3013188	2703600	2223035	811754

States.	*1876.		†1880.			
	Hayes, R.	Tilden D.	Garfield R.	Hancock D.	Weaver, G.	Dow, P.
Alabama,	68,708	102,989	56,221	91,185	4,642	.....
Arkansas,	38,669	58,071	42,436	60,775	4,079	.....
California,	79,279	76,468	80,348	80,426	3,392	.....
Colorado,	By Legislature.		27,450	24,647	1,435	.....
Connecticut,	59,034	61,934	67,071	64,415	868	409
Delaware,	10,752	13,381	14,133	15,275	120	.....
Florida,	23,849	22,927	23,654	27,964	.....	.....
Georgia,	50,446	130,088	54,086	102,470	969	.....
Illinois,	278,232	258,601	318,037	277,321	26,358	443
Indiana,	208,011	213,526	232,164	225,522	12,986	.....
Iowa,	171,326	112,121	183,927	105,845	32,701	592
Kansas,	78,322	37,902	121,549	59,801	19,851	25
Kentucky,	97,156	159,696	106,306	149,068	11,499	258
Louisiana,	75,315	70,508	38,637	65,067	439	.....
Maine,	66,300	49,917	74,039	65,171	4,408	93
Maryland,	71,981	91,780	78,515	93,706	818	.....
Massachusetts,	150,063	108,777	165,205	111,960	4,548	682
Michigan,	166,534	141,095	185,341	131,597	34,895	942
Minnesota,	72,962	48,799	93,903	53,315	3,267	286
Mississippi,	52,605	112,173	34,854	75,750	5,797	.....
Missouri,	145,029	203,077	153,567	208,609	35,135	.....
Nebraska,	31,916	17,554	54,979	28,523	3,950	.....
Nevada,	10,383	9,308	8,732	9,613	.....	.....
New Hampshire	41,539	38,509	44,852	40,794	528	180
New Jersey,	103,517	115,962	120,555	122,565	2,617	191
New York,	489,207	521,949	555,544	534,511	12,373	1,517
North Carolina,	108,417	125,427	115,874	124,208	1,126	.....
Ohio,	330,698	323,182	375,048	340,821	6,456	2,616
Oregon,	15,206	14,149	20,619	19,948	249	.....
Pennsylvania,	384,184	366,204	444,704	407,428	20,668	1,939
Rhode Island,	15,787	10,712	18,195	10,779	236	20
South Carolina,	91,870	90,896	58,071	112,312	566	.....
Tennessee,	89,566	133,166	107,677	128,191	5,917	43
Texas,	44,803	104,803	57,893	156,428	27,405	.....
Vermont,	44,428	20,350	45,567	18,316	1,215	.....
Virginia,	95,558	139,670	84,020	128,586	.....	.....
West Virginia,	42,046	56,495	46,243	57,391	9,079	.....
Wisconsin,	130,070	123,926	144,400	114,649	7,986	69
Total,	4,033,768	4,285,992	4,454,416	4,444,952	308,578	10,305
Maj. over all,		145,911	†9,464			

* 1876—Greenback, 81,737; Prohibition, 9,522; American, 539; imperfect and scattering, 14,715. † 1880—Greenback, 308,578; Prohibition, 10,305; American, 707; imperfect and scattering, 989. ‡ Plurality. All over Garfield, 311,115.

*1884.

States.	Blaine, R.	Cleveland, D.	Butler, G.	St. John, P.
Alabama,	59,591	93,951	873	612
Arkansas,	50,895	72,927	1,847	.....
California,	102,416	89,288	2,017	2,920
Colorado,	36,290	27,723	1,958	761
Connecticut,	65,923	67,199	1,688	2,305
Delaware,	12,951	16,964	6	55
Florida,	28,031	31,766	.....	72
Georgia,	48,603	94,667	145	195
Illinois,	337,474	312,355	10,910	12,074
Indiana,	238,463	244,990	8,293	3,028
Iowa,	197,089	177,316	.....	1,472
Kansas,	154,406	90,132	16,341	4,495
Kentucky,	118,122	152,961	1,691	3,139
Louisiana,	46,347	62,540	.....	.....
Maine,	72,209	52,140	3,953	2,160
Maryland,	85,699	96,932	531	2,794
Massachusetts,	146,724	122,481	24,433	10,026
Michigan,	192,669	149,835	42,243	18,403
Minnesota,	111,923	70,144	3,583	4,684
Mississippi,	43,509	76,510	.....	.....
Missouri,	202,929	235,988	.....	2,153
Nebraska,	76,912	54,391	.....	2,899
Nevada,	7,193	5,578	26	.....
New Hampshire,	43,249	39,183	552	1,571
New Jersey,	123,440	127,798	3,496	6,159
New York,	562,005	563,154	16,994	25,016
North Carolina,	125,068	142,952	.....	454
Ohio,	400,082	368,280	5,179	11,069
Oregon,	26,860	24,604	726	492
Pennsylvania,	473,804	392,785	16,992	15,283
Rhode Island,	19,030	12,391	422	928
South Carolina,	21,733	69,890	.....	.....
Tennessee,	124,078	133,258	957	1,131
Texas,	93,141	225,309	3,321	3,534
Vermont,	39,514	17,331	785	1,752
Virginia,	139,356	145,497	.....	138
West Virginia,	63,096	67,317	810	939
Wisconsin,	161,157	146,459	4,598	7,656
Total,	4,851,981	4,874,986	175,370	150,369
Plurality,	23,005			

* 1884—Blank, defective and scattering, 14,904. In consequence of the uncertainties in the count resulting from the "fusions" formed, the plurality shown for Cleveland must be considered an approximation to the actual result—not a definite result. All, over Cleveland, 317,638.

TOTALS OF PREVIOUS PRESIDENTIAL VOTES.

1828—1,156,328. 1832—1,217,691. 1836—1,498,205. 1840—2,410,772. 1844—2,698,608. 1848—2,872,806. 1852—3,142,877. 1856—4,053,967. 1860—4,676,853. 1864—4,024,762. 1868—5,724,624. 1872—6,431,149. 1876—8,426,273. 1880—9,219,947. 1884—10,067,610.

ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENTIAL VOTES.

1876—Republican, 4,033,950; Democratic, 4,284,757; Greenback, 81,737; Prohibition, 9,522.

1872—Republican, 3,597,070; Democratic, * 2,834,079; Prohibition, 5,608.

† 1868—Republican, 3,015,071; Democratic, 2,709,613.

‡ 1864—Republican, 2,216,067; Democratic, 1,808,725.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, 1888.

PRINCIPAL EXECUTIVE, JUDICIAL AND DIPLOMATIC OFFICERS.

The Executive.

GROVER CLEVELAND, of New York, *President of the United States*, salary, \$50,000.

[The Vice-Presidency is vacant, by reason of the death of Mr. Hendricks.]

The Cabinet.||

THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD, of Delaware, *Secretary of State*, salary, \$8,000.

CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD, of New York, *Secretary of the Treasury*, salary, \$8,000.

WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT, of Massachusetts, *Secretary of War*, salary, \$8,000.

DON M. DICKINSON, of Michigan, *Postmaster-General*, salary, \$8,000.

AUGUSTUS H. GARLAND, of Arkansas, *Attorney-General*, salary, \$8,000.

* Exclusive of 29,408 for Charles O'Connor.

† Mississippi, Texas and Virginia did not vote.

‡ The eleven "Confederate" States did not participate.

|| Arranged in the order of succession named in the Presidential Succession act of January 19, 1886.

WILLIAM C. WHITNEY, of New York, *Secretary of the Navy*, salary, \$8,000.

WILLIAM M. VILAS, of Wisconsin, *Secretary of the Interior*, salary, \$8,000.

Principal Departmental Officers.

[The figures after each name indicate the year of appointment or assignment.]

STATE DEPARTMENT.

Assistant Secretary—George L. Rives (1887), New York ; salary, \$4,500.

Second Assistant Secretary—Alvey A. Adey (1882), New York, \$3,500.

Third Assistant Secretary—John B. Moore (1886), Delaware, \$3,500.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Assistant Secretaries—Isaac H. Maynard (1887), New York, \$4,500 ; Hugh S. Thompson (1886), South Carolina, \$4,500.

Bureau of Engraving and Printing—Edward O. Graves (1885), New York, \$4,500.

Supervising Architect—William A. Freret (1887), Louisiana, \$4,500.

First Comptroller—Milton J. Durham (1885), Kentucky, \$5,000.

Second Comptroller—Sigourney Butler (1887), Massachusetts, \$5,000.

Commissioner of Customs—John S. McCalmont (1885), Pennsylvania, 4,000.

First Auditor—James Q. Chenoweth (1885), Texas, \$3,600.

Second Auditor—William A. Day (1885), Illinois, \$3,600.

Third Auditor—John S. Williams (1885), Indiana, \$3,600.

Fourth Auditor—Charles M. Shelley (1885), Alabama, \$3,600.

Fifth Auditor—Anthony Eickhoff (1885), New York, \$3,600.

Sixth Auditor—Daniel McConville (1885), Ohio, \$3,600.

Treasurer U. S.—James W. Hyatt (1887), Connecticut, \$6,000.

Register of the Treasury—William S. Rosecrans (1885), California, \$4,000.

Comptroller of the Currency—William L. Trenholm (1886), South Carolina, \$5,000.

Commissioner of Internal Revenue—Joseph S. Miller (1885), West Virginia, \$6,000.

Commissioner of Navigation—Charles B. Morton (1886), Maine, \$3,600.

Solicitor of Internal Revenue—Charles Chesley (1871), New Hampshire, \$4,500.

Director of the Mint—James P. Kimball (1885), Pennsylvania, \$4,500.

Chief of the Secret Service Division—James J. Brooks (1876), Pennsylvania, \$3,500.

Supervising Surgeon-General of the Marine Hospital Service—John B. Hamilton (1879), Illinois, \$4,000.

Supervising Inspector-General of Steam Vessels—James A. Dumont (1876), New York, \$3,500.

Solicitor—Alexander McCue (1885), New York, \$4,500.

Superintendent of Life-Saving Service—Sumner I. Kimball (1876), Maine, \$4,000.

Bureau of Statistics—William F. Switzler (1885), Missouri, \$3,000.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

Adjutant-General—Richard C. Drum (1880), Pennsylvania.*

Inspector-General—Absalom Baird (1885), Pennsylvania.*

Quartermaster-General—Samuel B. Holabird (1883), Connecticut.*

Commissary-General—Robert Macfeely (1875), Pennsylvania.*

Surgeon-General—John Moore (1886), Indiana.*

Paymaster-General—William B. Rochester (1882), New York.*

Chief of Engineers—James C. Duane (1886), New York.*

Chief of Ordnance—Stephen B. Benét (1874), Florida.*

Acting Judge-Advocate-General—Guido N. Lieber (1885), New York.†

Chief Signal Officer—Adolphus W. Greely (1887), Louisiana.*

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

Bureau of Yards and Docks—David B. Harmony (1885), Pennsylvania.

Bureau of Navigation—John G. Walker (1881), Iowa.

Bureau of Ordnance—Montgomery Sicard (1881), District of Columbia.

Bureau of Provisions and Clothing—James Fulton (1887), Tennessee.

* Pay and allowances of a Brigadier-General.

† Pay and allowances of a Colonel.

Bureau of Medicine and Surgery—Francis M. Gunnell (1884), District of Columbia.

Bureau of Construction and Repair—Theodore D. Wilson (1886), New York.

Bureau of Equipment and Recruiting—Winfield S. Schley (1884), Maryland.

Bureau of Steam Engineering—George W. Melville (1887), N. Y.

Judge-Advocate-General—William B. Remey, U. S. Marine Corps (1878), Iowa, \$3,500.

Commandant of Marine Corps—Charles G. McCawley (1876), Pennsylvania.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

First Assistant Postmaster-General—Adlai E. Stevenson (1885), Illinois, \$4,000.

Second Assistant Postmaster-General—A. Leo Knott (1885), Maryland, \$4,000.

Third Assistant Postmaster-General—Henry R. Harris (1887), Georgia, \$4,000.

Assistant Attorney-General—Edwin E. Bryant (1885), Wisconsin, \$4,000.

Superintendent of Foreign Mails—Nicholas M. Bell (1886), Missouri, \$3,000.

Superintendent of Money Order System—Charles F. Macdonald (1864), Massachusetts, \$3,500.

General Superintendent of Railway Mail Service—Thomas E. Nash (1887), Wisconsin, \$3,500.

Superintendent of Dead Letter Office—John B. Baird (1885), Georgia, \$2,250.

Chief Post Office Inspector—Wm. H. West (1886), Miss., \$3,000.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

First Assistant Secretary—H. L. Muldrow (1885), Miss., \$4,500.

Assistant Secretary—David L. Hawkins (1886), Missouri, \$4,000.

Assistant Attorney-General—Zachariah Montgomery (1885), California, \$5,000.

Commissioner of Pensions—John C. Black (1885), Ill., \$5,000.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs—John D. C. Atkins (1885), Tennessee, \$4,000.

Commissioner of the Patent Office—Benton J. Hall (1887), Iowa, \$5,000.

Commissioner of Railroads—Joseph E. Johnston (1885), Virginia, \$4,500.

Commissioner of Education—Nathaniel A. H. Dawson (1886), Alabama, \$3,000.

Director of Geological Survey—J. W. Powell (1881), Ill., \$6,000.

Commissioner of Labor—Carroll D. Wright (1885), Mass., \$3,000.

Architect of the Capitol—Edward Clark (1865), Penn., \$4,500.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Solicitor-General—George A. Jenks (1886), Pennsylvania, \$7,000.

Assistant Attorneys-General—Robert A. Howard, Arkansas; William A. Maury, District of Columbia, \$5,000 each.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

Public Printer—Thomas E. Benedict (1886), New York, \$4,500.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Commissioner—Norman J. Colman (1885), Missouri, \$4,500.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Librarian—Ainsworth R. Spofford (1865), Ohio, \$4,000.

GOVERNMENT DIRECTORS IN THE UNION PACIFIC R. R. COMPANY.

Frederic R. Coudert, N. Y.; Franklin McVeagh, Ill.; Marcus A. Hanna, Ohio; Alexander C. Haskell, South Carolina; James W. Savage, Nebraska.

CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONERS.

Alfred P. Edgerton, Indiana; John H. Oberly, Illinois; Charles Lyman, Connecticut, \$3,500 each.

*Justices of the Supreme Court.**

Chief-Justice—Melville W. Fuller, Illinois. Appointed in 1888.

JUSTICE.	NO. OF CIRCUIT.	WHEN APPOINTED.
Samuel F. Miller, of Iowa	8	1862
Stephen J. Field, of California	9	1863
Joseph P. Bradley, of New Jersey	3	1870
John M. Harlan, of Kentucky	7	1877
Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi	5	1888
Stanley Matthews, of Ohio	6	1881
Horace Gray, of Massachusetts	1	1881
Samuel Blatchford, of New York	2	1882

Retired Justice—William Strong, Pennsylvania, \$10,000 a year.

*Salary of the Chief-Justice, \$10,500; of each Justice, \$10,000.

Appendix B.

WHAT IT COSTS THE PRESIDENT TO LIVE.

The official salary of the President is fixed by law at fifty thousand dollars per annum, or two hundred thousand dollars for his term of four years. At the beginning of each term Congress makes an appropriation for refurnishing the Executive Mansion. The kitchen and pantry are supplied to a considerable extent by the same body. Congress pays all the employees about the house, from the private secretary to the humblest boot-black; it provides fuel and lights; keeps up the stables; and furnishes a corps of gardeners and a garden to supply the Presidential board with fruits, flowers, and vegetables. Many persons suppose that these allowances ought to be enough to enable him to live comfortably. They are mistaken, however. The President is required by public opinion to live in a style consistent with the dignity of his position and the honor of the country, and such a mode of life imposes upon him many very heavy expenses. Besides this, he is expected to be liberal and charitable towards persons and meritorious causes seeking his aid, and "their name is legion." He cannot give as a private individual; his donation must be large. The expense of entertaining the various officers of the Government, members of Congress, and Foreign

Ministers, is enormous. One hundred thousand dollars per annum would not be too much to allow him.

THE PRESIDENT'S VISITORS.

Access to the President may be easily had by any person having legitimate business with him, or wishing to pay his respects to the Chief Magistrate of the Union, but, as His Excellency's time is valuable and much occupied, interviews are limited to the shortest possible duration. Visitors, upon such occasions, repair to the reception-room adjoining the President's private office, send in their cards, and await His Excellency's pleasure.

Besides granting these private interviews, the President holds public receptions or levees at stated times during the sessions of Congress.

His official title is "Mr. President," but courtesy has added that of "His Excellency." It is worthy of remark that none of the Executive officers of the States of the Union, except the Governor of Massachusetts, have any legal claim to the titles "His Excellency" and "Your Excellency."

All sorts of people come to see the President, on all sorts of business. His immense patronage makes him the object of the efforts of many unprincipled men. His in-

tegrity is subjected to the severest trials and if he come out of office poor, as happily all of our Presidents have done, he must indeed be an honest man. His position is not a bed of roses, for he cannot hope to please all parties. His friends exaggerate his good qualities, and often make him appear ridiculous, while his enemies magnify his faults and errors, and slander and persecute him in every imaginable way. Pitfalls are set for him along every step of his path, and he must be wary indeed if he would not fall into them. The late President Buchanan once said that there were at least two persons in the world who could not echo the wish experienced by each American mother, that her son might one day be President, and that they were the retiring and the incoming Presidents, the first of whom was worn and weary with the burden he was laying down, and the other for the first time fully alive to the magnitude of the task he had undertaken.

CABINET MEETINGS.

The Cabinet Ministers in our Government are the Secretaries placed at the heads of the various Departments. They are the constitutional advisers of the President, but he is not obliged to be governed by their advice. It is customary, however, to lay all

important matters before them for their opinions thereupon, which are submitted in writing at the request of the President, and for this purpose regular meetings of the Cabinet are held at stated times in a room in the Executive Mansion, provided for that purpose. It is located on the second floor of the mansion, and is plainly but comfortably furnished.

The relations existing between the President and his Cabinet are, or ought to be, of the most friendly and confidential nature. They are well set forth in the attitude maintained upon this point by Mr. Lincoln. Says Mr. Raymond, his biographer: "He always maintained that the proper duty of each Secretary was to direct the details of everything done within his own Department, and to tender such suggestions, information, and advice to the President as he might solicit at his hands. But the duty and responsibility of deciding what line of policy should be pursued, or what steps should be taken in any specific case, in his judgment, belonged exclusively to the President; and he was always willing and ready to assume it."

THE WHITE HOUSE.

The Executive Mansion is situated on Pennsylvania Avenue, near the western end

of the city, and is surrounded by the Treasury, State, War, and Navy Departments. The grounds in front are handsomely ornamented, and in the rear a fine park stretches away to the river. The location is attractive, and commands a magnificent view of the Potomac, but it is not healthy. Ague and fever prevails in the Spring and Fall, and renders it anything but a desirable place of residence. The building is constructed of freestone painted white—hence its most common name, the “White House.” It was designed by James Hoban, and was modeled after the palace of the duke of Leinster. The corner-stone was laid on the 13th of October, 1792, and the house was ready for occupancy in the Summer of 1800. It was partially destroyed by the British in 1814. It has a front of one hundred and seventy feet, and a depth of eighty-six feet. It contains two lofty stories of rooms, and the roof is surrounded with a handsome balustrade. The exterior walls are ornamented with fine Ionic pilasters. On the north front is a handsome portico, with four Ionic columns in front, and a projecting screen with three columns. The space between these two rows of pillars is a covered carriage way. The main entrance to the house is from this portico through a massive doorway, which opens into the main hall. The garden front has a

rusticated basement, which gives a third story to the house on this side, and by a semi-circular projecting colonnade of six columns, with two flights of steps, leading from the ground to the level of the principal story.

THE INTERIOR OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

Entering by the main door, the visitor finds himself in a handsome hall, divided midway by a row of imitation marble pillars, and ornamented with portraits of former Presidents. Passing to the left, you enter the magnificent banqueting hall, or, as it is commonly called,

THE EAST ROOM,

which occupies the entire eastern side of the house. It is a beautiful apartment, and is handsomely furnished. It is used during the levees and upon great State occasions. The President sometimes receives here the congratulations and respects of his fellow-citizens, and is subjected to the torture of having his hand squeezed out of shape by his enthusiastic friends. It's a great pity that some one of our Chief Magistrates has not the moral courage to put a stop to this ridiculous practice of hand-shaking. The East Room is eighty-six feet long, forty feet wide, and twenty-eight feet high. It has four

fire-places, and is not an easy room to warm. Adjoining the East Room are three others, smaller in size, the whole constituting one of the handsomest *suites* in the country. The first, adjoining the East Room, is the *Green Room*, the next the *Blue Room*, and the third the *Red Room*. Each is handsomely furnished, the prevailing color of the apartment giving the name.

THE RED ROOM

is elliptical in form, having a bow in rear, and is one of the handsomest in the house. It is used by the President as a general reception-room. He receives here the official visits of the dignitaries of the Republic, and of foreign ministers. Previous to the completion of the East Room, this apartment was used for all occasions of public ceremony.

The building contains thirty-one rooms of considerable size. West of the Red Room is the large dining-room used upon State occasions, and adjoining that is the small dining-room ordinarily used by the President and his family. The stairs to the upper story are on the left of the main entrance, and are always in charge of the door-keeper and his assistants, whose business it is to see that no improper characters find access to the private portion of the house.

The north front has six rooms, which are used as chambers by the family of the President, and the south front has seven rooms—the ante-chamber, audience-room, cabinet-room, private office of the President, the ladies' parlor, and two others, used for various purposes.

THE LADIES' PARLOR

is situated immediately over the Red Room, and is of the same size and shape. It is for the private use of the ladies of the President's family, and is the handsomest and most tastefully furnished apartment in the house.

There are eleven rooms in the basement, which are used as kitchens, pantries, butler's room, &c. The house is built in the old style, and has an air of elegance and comfort extremely pleasing to the eye.

FIRST MISTRESS OF THE WHITE HOUSE.

Mrs. John Adams came to Washington with her husband in November, 1800, and at once took possession of the Executive Mansion. Her impressions of it are thus described by herself in a letter to her daughter, written soon after her arrival. She says :

“The house is upon a grand and superb scale, requiring about thirty servants to

attend and keep the apartments in proper order, and perform the ordinary business of the house and stables—an establishment very well proportioned to the President's salary. The lighting the apartments, from the kitchen to parlors and chambers, is a tax indeed, and the fires we are obliged to keep to secure us from daily agues is another very cheering comfort. To assist us in this great castle, and render less attendance necessary, bells are wholly wanting, not one single one being hung through the whole house, and promises are all you can obtain. This is so great an inconvenience, that I know not what to do or how to do. The ladies from Georgetown and in the city have many of them visited me. Yesterday I returned fifteen visits. But such a place as Georgetown appears! Why, our Milton is beautiful. But no comparisons; if they put me up bells, and let me have wood enough to keep fires, I design *to be pleased*. But, surrounded with forests, can you believe that wood is not to be had, because people cannot be found to cut and cart it? . . . We have indeed, come into a *new country*.

“The house is made habitable, but there is not a single apartment finished, and all within-side, except the plastering, has been done since B. came. We have not the *least*

fence, yard, or convenience without, and the great unfinished audience-room I make a drying-room of, to hang up the clothes in. . . . If the twelve years, in which this place has been considered as the future seat of government, had been improved, as they would have been in New England, very many of the present inconveniences would have been removed. It is a beautiful spot, capable of any improvement, and the more I view it, the more I am delighted with it."

OLD TIMES AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

Mr. Cooper thus describes a dinner at the White House, to which he was invited, during its occupancy by Mr. Monroe:

"On this occasion, we were honored with the presence of Mrs. Monroe, and two or three of her female relatives. Crossing the hall, we were admitted to a drawing-room, in which most of the company were already assembled. The hour was six. By far the greater part of the guests were men, and perhaps two-thirds were members of Congress. . . . There was very great gravity of mien in most of the company, and neither any very marked exhibition, nor any positively striking want of grace of manner. The conversation was commonplace, and a little sombre, though two or three men of the world got around the ladies, where the bat-

tle of words was maintained with sufficient spirit. . . . To me the entertainment had rather a cold than a formal air. When dinner was announced, the oldest Senator present (there were two, and seniority of service is meant) took Mrs. Monroe, and led her to the table. The rest of the party followed without much order. The President took a lady, as usual, and preceded the rest of the guests.

“The drawing-room was an apartment of good size, and of just proportions. It might have been about as large as the better sort of Paris *salon* in a private hotel. It was furnished in a mixed style, partly English and partly French. . . . It was neat, sufficiently rich, without being at all magnificent, and, on the whole, was very much like a similar apartment in the house of a man of rank and fortune in Europe. The dining-room was in a better taste than is common here, being quite simple, and but little furnished. The table was large and rather handsome. The service was in china, as is uniformly the case, plate being exceedingly rare, if at all used. There was, however, a rich plateau, and a great abundance of the smaller articles of table-plate. The cloth, napkins, &c., &c., were fine and beautiful.

“The dinner was served in the French

style, a little Americanized. The dishes were handed round, though some of the guests, appearing to prefer their own customs, coolly helped themselves to what they found at hand. Of attendants there were a good many. They were neatly dressed, out of livery, and sufficient. To conclude, the whole entertainment might have passed for a better sort of European dinner-party, at which the guests were too numerous for general or very agreeable discourse, and some of them too *new* to be entirely at their ease. Mrs. Monroe arose, at the end of the dessert, and withdrew, attended by two or three of the most gallant of the company. No sooner was his wife's back turned, than the President reseated himself, inviting his guests to imitate the action. After allowing his guests sufficient time to renew, in a few glasses, the recollections of similar enjoyments of their own, he arose himself, giving the hint to his company, that it was time to rejoin the ladies. In the drawing-room, coffee was served, and everybody left the house before nine."

AN OLD-TIME LEVEE.

"On the succeeding Wednesday, Mrs. Monroe opened her doors to all the world. No invitation was necessary, it being the usage for the wife of the President to receive

company once a fortnight during the session, without distinction of persons.

“We reached the White House at nine. The court (or rather the grounds) was filled with carriages, and the company was arriving in great numbers. On this occasion two or three additional drawing-rooms were opened, though the frugality of Congress has prevented them from finishing the principal reception-room of the building. I will acknowledge the same sort of surprise I felt at the Castle Garden *fete*, at finding the assemblage so respectable in air, dress and deportment.

“The evening at the White House, or drawing-room, as it is sometimes pleasantly called, is, in fact, a collection of all classes of people, who choose to go to the trouble and expense of appearing in dresses suited to an ordinary evening party. I am not sure that even dress is much regarded; for I certainly saw a good many there in boots. The females were all neatly and properly attired, though few were ornamented with jewelry. Of course, the poor and laboring classes of the community would find little or no pleasure in such a scene. They consequently stay away. The infamous, if known, would not be admitted; for it is a peculiar consequence of the high tone of morals in this country, that grave and notorious offenders rarely

presume to violate the public feeling by invading society.*

"Squeezing through the crowd, we achieved a passage to a part of the room where Mrs. Monroe was standing, surrounded by a bevy of female friends. After making our bow here, we sought the President. The latter had posted himself at the top of the room, where he remained most of the evening, shaking hands with all who approached. Near him stood all the Secretaries and a great number of the most distinguished men of the nation. Individuals of importance from all parts of the Union were also here, and were employed in the manner usual to such scenes.

"Besides these, one meets here a great variety of people in other conditions of life. I have known a cartman to leave his horse in the street, and go into the reception-room to shake hands with the President. He offended the good taste of all present, because it was not thought decent that a laborer should come in a dirty dress on such an occasion; but while he made a trifling mistake in this particular, he proved how well he understood the difference between government and society. He knew the levee was a sort of homage paid to political equality in the person of the first magistrate, but

* This was over sixty years ago.— *Author.*

he would not have presumed to enter the house of the same person as a private individual, without being invited, or without a reasonable excuse in the way of business.

“There are, no doubt, individuals who mistake the character of these assemblies, but the great majority do not. They are a simple, periodical acknowledgment that there is no legal barrier to the advancement of any one to the first association in the Union. You perceive, there are no masters of ceremonies, no ushers, no announcings, nor, indeed, any let or hindrance to the ingress of all who please to come; and yet how few, in comparison to the whole number who might enter, do actually appear. If there is any man in Washington so dull as to suppose equality means a right to thrust himself into any company he pleases, it is probable he satisfies himself by boasting that he can go to the White House once a fortnight, as well as a governor or anybody else.”

ETIQUETTE.

The social observances of the White House are prescribed with the utmost exactness. At the commencement of Washington's administration, the question of how to regulate such matters was discussed with great earnestness. It was agreed that the exclusive rules by which European courts were gov-

erned would not entirely suit the new Republic, as there were no titled personages in America, and as the society of our country was organized on a professed basis of equality. Washington caused the following articles to be drawn up:

“In order to bring the members of society together in the first instance, the custom of the country has established that residents shall pay the first visit to strangers, and, among strangers, first comers to later comers, foreign and domestic; the character of stranger ceasing after the first visit. To this rule there is a single exception. Foreign ministers, from the necessity of making themselves known, pay the first visit to the [cabinet] ministers of the nation, which is returned.

“When brought together in society, all are perfectly equal, whether foreign or domestic, titled or untitled, in or out of office.

“All other observances are but exemplifications of these two principles.

“The families of foreign ministers, arriving at the seat of government, receive the first visit from those of the national ministers, as from all other residents.

“Members of the legislature and of the judiciary, independent of their offices, have a right, as strangers, to receive the first visit.

“No title being admitted here, those of foreigners give no precedence.

“Differences of grade among the diplomatic members give no precedence.

“At public ceremonies to which the government invites the presence of foreign ministers and their families, a convenient seat or station will be provided for them, with any other strangers invited, and the families of the national ministers, each taking place as they arrive, and without any precedence.

“To maintain the principle of equality, or of *pele mele*, and prevent the growth of precedence out of courtesy, the members of the executive will practise at their own houses and recommend an adherence to the ancient usage of the country, of gentlemen in mass giving precedence to the ladies in mass, in passing from one apartment where they are assembled into another.”

These rules were too arbitrary and exacting to give satisfaction, and society was not disposed to acknowledge so genuine an equality amongst its members. For some years, disputes and quarrels were frequent and bitter. In the winter of 1819, John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State, addressed a letter to Daniel D. Tompkins, the Vice-President, stating that he had been informed that the members of the Senate had agreed amongst themselves to pay no

first visits to any person except the President of the United States. He declared that he repudiated the claim on the part of the Senators, and that he would pay no first calls himself as being due from him or his family. Mr. Adams was severely criticised for his aristocratic views, and the controversy went on as warmly as before. The result, a few years later, was, that all parties interested agreed upon a code, which is now in force, and which may be stated as follows, as far as the White House is concerned :

THE CODE.

The title of the Executive is *Mr. President*. It is not proper to address him in conversation as *Your Excellency*.

The President receives calls upon matters of business at any hour, if he is unengaged. He prefers that such visits should be made in the morning. Stated times are appointed for receiving persons who wish to pay their respects to him. One morning and one evening in each week are usually set apart for this purpose.

During the winter season, a public reception, or levee, is held once a week, at which guests are expected to appear in full dress. They are presented by the Usher on such occasions, and have the honor of shaking

hands with the President, These receptions last from eight until ten o'clock.

On the 1st of January of each year, the President holds a public reception, at which the Foreign Ministers present in the city appear in full court dress, and the officers of the Army and Navy in full uniform. The Heads of Departments, Governors of States, and Members of Congress are received first, then the Diplomatic Corps, then the officers of the Army and Navy, and then the doors are thrown open to the public generally for the space of two hours.

The President, as such, must not be invited to dinner by any one, and accepts no such invitations, and pays no calls or visits of ceremony. He may visit in his private capacity, however, at pleasure.

An invitation to dine at the White House takes precedence of all others, and a previous engagement must not be pleaded as an excuse for declining it. Such an invitation must be promptly accepted in writing.

THE PRESIDENT'S RECEPTIONS.

The levees held by the President differ in nothing from those of Mr. Monroe's time, described a few pages back, except that the East Room is now finished, and the whole magnificent suite of apartments is used. The *elite* of the land are present, but the

infamous are also there in the persons of those who live by plundering the public treasury.

The President stands in one of the smaller parlors, generally in the Red or Blue Room. He is surrounded by his Cabinet, and the most distinguished men in the land. Near him stands his wife, daughter, or some relative representing the mistress of the mansion. Visitors enter from the hall, and are presented to the President by the Usher, who first asks their names, residences, and avocations. The President shakes each one by the hand cordially, utters a few pleasant words in reply to the greeting of his guest, and the visitor passes on into the next room, to make way for those behind him. Before doing so, however, he is presented to the lady of the house, to whom he pays his respects also. This regular routine goes on for the space of two hours, when it is brought to an end, the President devoutly thanking Heaven that it does not last all night.

These levees are no doubt very interesting to the guests, but they are the bugbears of the President and his family. The former is obliged by custom to shake hands with every man presented to him, and when the levee is over, his right hand is often bruised and swollen. It is said that some of the

Presidents have suffered severely from this species of torture, and that General Harrison's death was to some degree hastened by it.

President Arthur being a widower, and having no grown-up daughter, his sister, Mrs. McElroy, acted as lady of the White House, and her amiable way of making everybody at home, even at the receptions of the Diplomatic Corps and distinguished foreigners, will be gratefully remembered by all who have been honored by an invitation.

The semi-annual receptions of the President—New Year's Day and the Fourth of July—are brilliant affairs. At a little before eleven o'clock in the morning, the approaches to the Executive Mansion are thronged with the splendid equipages of the various Cabinet officers and Foreign Ministers. The entrance at such times is by the main door, and the exit through one of the large north windows of the East Room, in front of which a temporary platform is erected. The customs upon such occasions vary slightly with each administration. In the description given here, the order observed at the reception of the President, January 1, 1884, is followed.

The East Room and the other parlors are handsomely decorated with flowers and

other ornaments, the full Marine Band is in attendance to furnish music for the promenaders in the East Room, and a strong police force is present to preserve order when the people are admitted *en masse*.

At a few minutes before eleven o'clock, the President and the ladies of the White House, in full dress, take their places in the Blue Room, the President standing near the door leading into the Red Room, and the ladies in the centre of the Blue Room. The President is attended by either the Commissioner of Public Buildings, or the Marshal of the District of Columbia, whose duty it is to present the guests to him. A gentleman is also appointed to attend the ladies for the purpose of presenting the guests to them.

Precisely at eleven o'clock the doors are thrown open, and the reception begins. The Cabinet Ministers and their families are admitted first, and after they have passed on into the East Room, through the Green Parlor, the Secretary of State remains and presents the Foreign Ministers and their families. They are followed by the Justices of the Supreme Court and their families. Then come the Senators and Representatives in Congress and their families. The next in order are the officers of the Army, then the

officers of the Navy and Marine Corps, in full uniform, and then the officials of the District of Columbia. These personages generally occupy the first hour. The doors are then opened to the public, and the next two hours are devoted to receiving them. Several thousand persons are presented during this period. They say a few pleasant words to the President, receive a brief reply, and pass on.

The promenaders in the East Room often linger in that apartment during the whole reception. The scene is brilliant, the toilettes are magnificent, the uniforms and court dresses attractive, and the music fine. At a little after two o'clock the parlors are deserted, and the gay throng has sought other attractions.

Besides these public levees, the ladies of the White House hold receptions at stated periods, to which invitations are regularly issued. The President sometimes appears upon these occasions, but is under no obligation to do so.

During the first two years of the administration of Mr. Lincoln, he always selected a lady to join the promenade with him at his evening receptions, thus leaving his wife free to choose an escort from the distinguished throng which always surrounded her on such occasions. This custom did not please Mrs

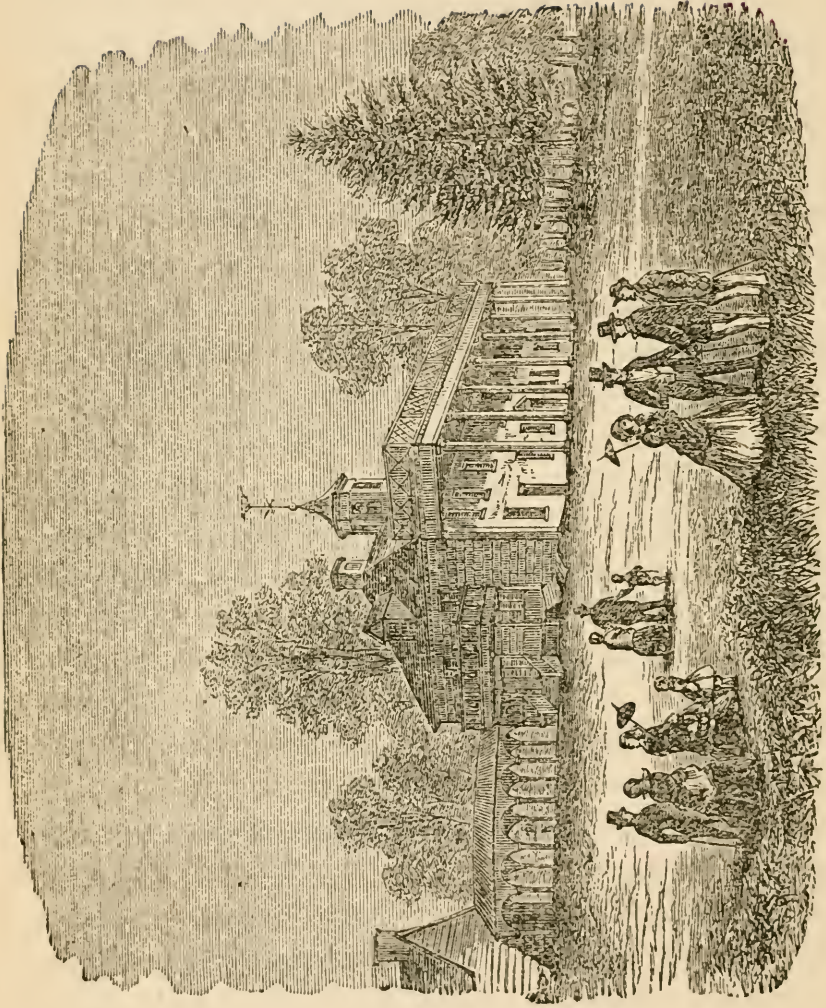
Lincoln, who resolved to put a stop to it. She declared the practice absurd. "On such occasions," said she, "our guests recognize the position of the President as first of all; consequently he takes the lead in everything; well, now, if they recognize his position, they should also recognize mine. I am his wife, and should lead with him. And yet he offers his arm to any other lady in the room, making her first with him, and placing me second. The custom is an absurd one, and I mean to abolish it. The dignity that I owe to my position, as Mrs. President, demands that I should not hesitate any longer to act."

The spirited lady kept her word. Ever after this, she either led the promenade with the President, or that dignitary walked alone or in company with some gentleman.

It has long been the custom for the President to give a series of State dinners during the session of Congress, to which the various members of that body, the higher Government officials, and the Diplomatic Corps are invited. In order to be able to entertain each one of these celebrities it is necessary to give about two dinners per week. The custom was not much observed during Mr. Lincoln's administration, though it has been revived by his successor.

IMPERTINENT GOSSIP.

The President and his family are much annoyed by the impertinent curiosity of which they are the objects. There are scores of persons in Washington, some of whom are doubtless well-meaning people, who are so ignorant of the common decencies of society, as to seek to lay bare before the public every incident of the private life of the family at the White House. The whole city rings with gossip upon this topic, much of which finds its way into the columns of the newspaper press in various parts of the land, to the great annoyance of its victims. There are people who can tell you how the President gets out of bed in the morning, how he dresses, breakfasts, picks his teeth, what he talks about in the privacy of his family, and a thousand and one other such private details, until you turn from your informant with the most intense disgust. It is said that much of this comes from the servants employed in the Executive Mansion, who seem to think it adds to their importance to retail such scandal. Every year this goes on, and every new occupant of the White House is subjected to such persecution.



MOUNT VERNON—THE HOME OF OUR FIRST PRESIDENT.

Appendix C.

RESULT OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS IN EACH STATE OF THE UNION.

THE reader will find in the following pages the names of the candidates for President that each State has voted for at every Presidential election. Taking the Federalist party as the root of the Republican party, it is traced through the Loose Constructionist, National Republican and Whig parties to 1856, when the present Republican party presented Fremont, its first Presidential candidate. Taking the Republican party, as organized by Jefferson, as the root of the Democratic party, it is traced through the Strict Constructionist party to 1828, when the present Democratic party presented Jackson, its first Presidential candidate.

Alabama.—First Presidential election, 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, under military rule, no election. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872,

Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

Arkansas.—First Presidential election, 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

California.—First Presidential election, 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Blaine, Republican.

Colorado.—First Presidential election, 1876, Hayes, Rep. 1880, Garfield, Rep. 1884, Blaine, Rep.

Connecticut.—One of the original thirteen States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1804, Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.) 1808, Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.) 1812, De Witt Clinton, Federalist (Rep.) 1816, King, Federalist (Rep.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, J. Q. Adams, Loose Constructionist (Rep.) 1828, J. Q. Adams, National Republican (Rep.) 1832, Henry Clay, National Republican (Rep.) 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844,

Henry Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Dem. 1884, Cleveland, Dem.

Delaware.—One of the original States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1804, 1808, Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.) 1812, DeWitt Clinton, Federalist (Rep.) 1816, King, Federalist (Rep.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Crawford, Strict Constructionist (Dem.); Adams received one of the three electoral votes of the State. 1828, J. Q. Adams, National Republican (Rep.) 1832, Clay, National Republican (Rep.) 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, McClellan, Democrat. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

Florida.—First Presidential election, 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, no election. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican (electoral commission decision). 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

Georgia.—One of the original States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Crawford, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, White, Anti-Van Buren Democrat. 1840, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Greeley, Democrat. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

Illinois.—First Presidential election, 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.), J. Q. Adams, Loose Constructionist (Rep.), receiving one of the three electoral votes of the State. 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican. 1884, Blaine, Rep.

Indiana.—First Presidential election, 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Garfield, Republican. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

Iowa.—First Presidential election, 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Rep. 1868, Grant, Rep. 1872, Grant, Rep. 1876, Hayes, Rep. 1880, Garfield, Rep. 1884, Blaine, Rep.

Kansas.—First Presidential election, 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican. 1884, Blaine, Rep.

Kentucky.—First Presidential election, 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.), one electoral vote not cast. 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Clay, Loose Construc-

tionist (Rep.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat (Dem.) 1832, Clay, National Republican (Rep.) 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Scott, Whig (Rep.) 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Bell, Constitutional Union. 1864, McClellan, Democrat. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Greeley, Democrat. At the meeting of the electoral college, Mr. Greeley having died meantime, the electoral vote of the State was cast: eight for Hendricks and four for Brown. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

Louisiana.—First Presidential election, 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) Adams, Loose Constructionist (Rep.), received two of the five electoral votes of the State. 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Jackson, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican—decision electoral commission. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

Maine.—First Presidential election, 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Adams, Loose Con-

structionist (Rep.) 1828, Adams, National Republican (Rep.) Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.), received one of the eight electoral votes of the State. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican. 1884, Blaine, Rep.

Maryland.—One of the original thirteen States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.), received six of the eight electoral votes of the State, two not cast. 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, the ten electoral votes of the State were divided equally between Jefferson and Burr, both Republicans (Dems.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.), received two of the eleven electoral votes of the State. 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.), again received two of the eleven electoral votes of the State. 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) De Witt Clinton, Federalist (Rep.), received five of the eleven electoral votes of the State. 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.); three votes were not cast, Monroe receiving eight of the eleven. 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.), received seven; Adams,

Loose Constructionist (Rep.), three, and Crawford, Strict Constructionist (Dem.), one of the electoral votes of the State. 1828, Adams, National Republican (Rep.), received six of the electoral votes of the State, and Jackson, Democrat, five. 1832, Clay, Loose Constructionist (Rep.), received five of the electoral votes of the State, and Jackson, Democrat, three. 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fillmore, Know Nothing. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Greeley, Democrat. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

Massachusetts.—First Presidential election, 1816, King, Federalist (Rep.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Adams, Loose Constructionist (Rep.) 1828, Adams, National Republican (Rep.) 1832, Clay, National Republican (Rep.) 1836, Webster, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Scott, Whig (Rep.) 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Rep. 1880, Garfield, Republican. 1884, Blaine, Rep.

Michigan.—First Presidential election, 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat.

1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican. 1884, Blaine, Rep.

Minnesota.—First Presidential election, 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican. 1884, Blaine, Republican.

Mississippi.—First Presidential election, 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.), one electoral vote not cast. 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, no election. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Dem. 1884, Cleveland, Dem.

Missouri.—First Presidential election, 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Clay, Loose Constructionist (Rep.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Douglas, Democrat. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Greeley,

Democrat. In the electoral college the vote of the State was cast: for Hendricks, 9; Brown, 8; David Davis, 1. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

Nebraska.—First Presidential election, 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican. 1884, Blaine, Republican.

Nevada.—First Presidential election, 1864, Lincoln, Republican; one of the three votes not cast. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Blaine, Republican.

New Hampshire.—One of the original thirteen States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.) 1812, DeWitt Clinton, Federalist (Rep.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) J. Q. Adams, Loose Constructionist, received one of the eight electoral votes of the State. 1824, Adams, Loose Constructionist. 1828, Adams, National Republican (Rep.) 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican.

1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Rep. 1884, Blaine, Rep.

New Jersey.—One of the original thirteen States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, DeWitt Clinton, Federalist (Rep.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, J. Q. Adams, National Republican (Rep.) 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Lincoln, Republican, received four of the electoral votes of the State, and Douglas, Democrat, three; the latter had a majority of 4,477 on the popular vote of the State. 1864, McClellan, Dem. 1868, Seymour, Dem. 1872, Grant, Rep. 1876, Tilden, Dem. 1880, Hancock, Dem. 1884, Cleveland, Dem.

New York.—First Presidential election, 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) George Clinton, Republican (Dem.), received six of the nineteen electoral votes of the State. 1812, DeWitt Clinton, Federalist (Rep.) 1816, Monroe, Republican

(Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, J. Q. Adams, Loose Constructionist (Rep.), received sixteen of the twenty-six electoral votes of the State; Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.), received one; Crawford, Strict Constructionist (Dem.), received five, and Clay, Loose Constructionist (Rep.), four. 1828, Jackson, Democrat, received twenty, and J. Q. Adams, National Republican (Rep.), sixteen electoral votes. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Garfield, Republican. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

North Carolina.—First Presidential election, 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.); Adams, Federalist (Rep.), received one of the twelve electoral votes. 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.); Adams, Federalist (Rep.), received four of the twelve electoral votes. 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.); Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.), received three of the fourteen votes. 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat.

1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Rep. 1876, Tilden, Dem. 1880, Hancock, Dem. 1884, Cleveland, Dem.

Ohio.—First Presidential election, 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, one vote not cast, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Clay, Loose Constructionist (Rep.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Rep. 1876, Hayes, Rep. 1880, Garfield, Rep. 1884, Blaine, Rep.

Oregon.—First Presidential election, 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Seymour, Democrat. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican. 1884, Blaine, Republican.

Pennsylvania.—One of the thirteen original States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.); Adams, Federalist

(Rep.), received one vote. 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.), received eight of the fifteen electoral votes of the State, and Adams seven. 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.); one vote not cast. 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Republican. 1880, Garfield, Republican. 1884, Blaine, Republican.

Rhode Island.—First Presidential election, 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Pinckney, Federalist (Rep.) 1812, De Witt Clinton, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, J. Q. Adams, Loose Constructionist (Rep.) 1828, J. Q. Adams, National Republican (Rep.) 1832, Henry Clay, National Republican (Rep.) 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856,

Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Rep. 1880, Garfield, Rep. 1884, Blaine, Rep.

South Carolina.—One of the original thirteen States. Presidential electors elected by State Legislature until 1868. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, John Floyd, Democrat. 1836, Mangum, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, ——. 1864, no election. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Rep. 1880, Hancock, Dem. 1884, Cleveland, Dem.

Tennessee.—First Presidential election 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.), one vote not cast. 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Jackson, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat.

1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Hugh L. White, Democrat. 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Scott, Whig (Rep.) 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Bell, Constitutional Union. 1864, no election. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Greeley, Democrat. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

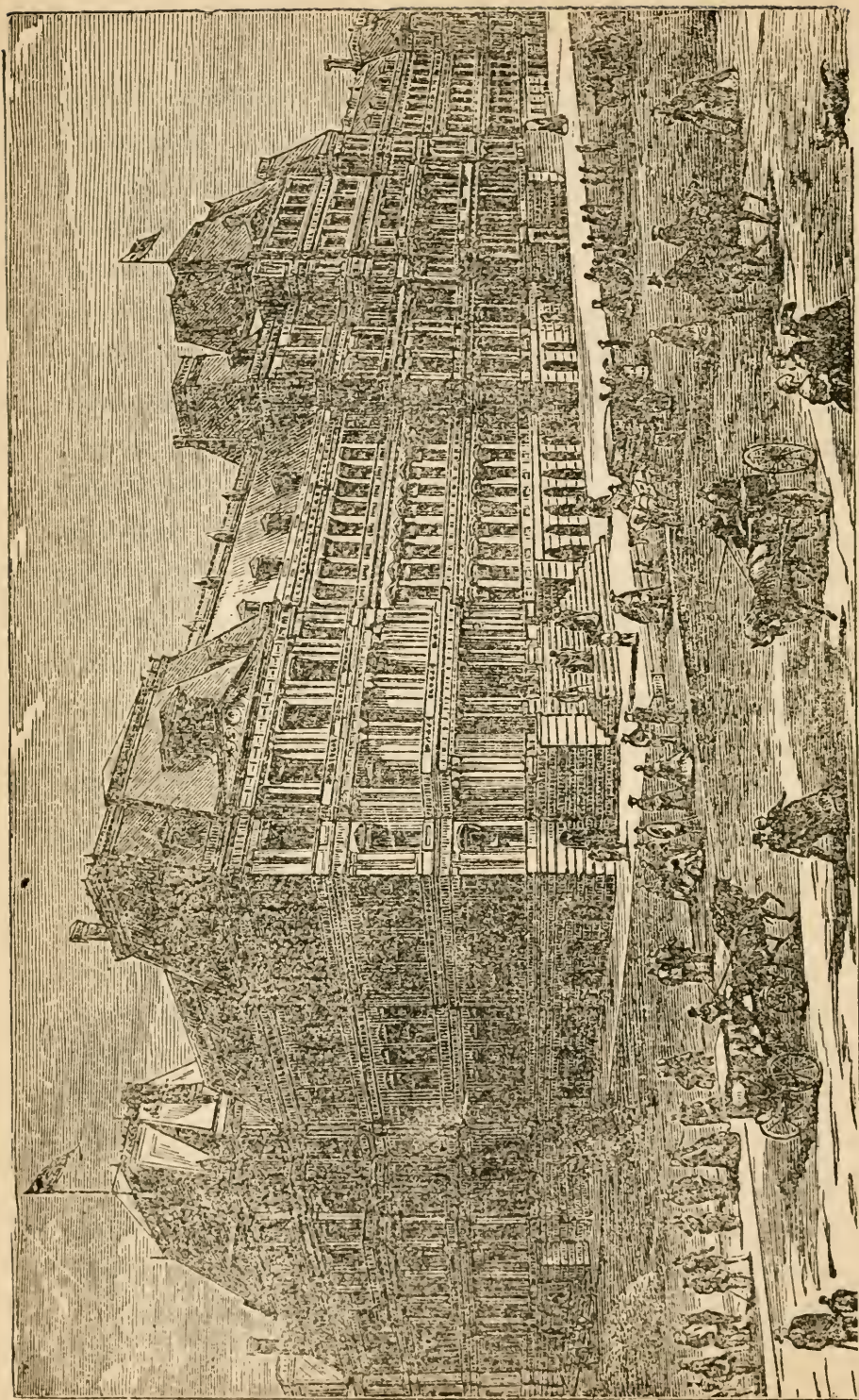
Texas.—First Presidential election, 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Breckinridge, Democrat. 1864, no election. 1868, no election. 1872, Greeley, Democrat. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Dem. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

Vermont.—First Presidential election, 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.), one vote not cast. 1796, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1800, Adams, Federalist (Rep.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, J. Q. Adams, Loose Constructionist. 1828, J. Q. Adams, National Republican. 1832, William Wirt, Anti-Masonic. 1836, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1840, Harrison, Whig (Rep.) 1844, Clay, Whig (Rep.) 1848, Taylor, Whig (Rep.) 1852, Scott, Whig (Rep.) 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Rep. 1880, Garfield, Rep. 1884, Blaine, Rep.

Virginia.—One of the original thirteen States. 1789, Washington, Federalist (Rep.), two votes not cast. 1792, Washington, Federalist (Rep.) 1796, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.); Adams, Federalist, received one of the twenty-two electoral votes of the State. 1800, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1804, Jefferson, Republican (Dem.) 1808, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1812, Madison, Republican (Dem.) 1816, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1820, Monroe, Republican (Dem.) 1824, Crawford, Strict Constructionist (Dem.) 1828, Jackson, Democrat. 1832, Jackson, Democrat. 1836, Van Buren, Democrat. 1840, Van Buren, Democrat. 1844, Polk, Democrat. 1848, Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Buchanan, Democrat. 1860, Bell, Constitutional Union. 1864, no election. 1868, no election. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Cleveland, Democrat.

West Virginia.—First Presidential election, 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Tilden, Democrat. 1880, Hancock, Democrat. 1884, Cleveland, Dem.

Wisconsin.—First Presidential election, 1848. Cass, Democrat. 1852, Pierce, Democrat. 1856, Fremont, Republican. 1860, Lincoln, Republican. 1864, Lincoln, Republican. 1868, Grant, Republican. 1872, Grant, Republican. 1876, Hayes, Rep. 1880, Garfield, Rep. 1884, Blaine, Rep.



THE NEW DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Appendix D.

THE PRESIDENTS AND THEIR CABINETS.

THE Postmaster-General was not recognized as a cabinet officer until 1829. Those preceding this date are, however, included in the cabinets to show when they were appointed.

First Administration—Washington, 1789-1793.

President, George Washington, of Virginia; Vice-President, John Adams, of Massachusetts; Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Alex. Hamilton, of New York; Secretary of War, Henry Knox, of Massachusetts; Attorney-General, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Timothy Pickering, of Pennsylvania.

Second Administration—Washington, 1793-1797.

President, George Washington, of Virginia; Vice-President, John Adams, of Massachusetts; Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, to January, 1794, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, to December, 1795, Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander

Hamilton, of New York, to February, 1795, Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut; Secretary of War, Henry Knox, of Massachusetts, to January, 1795, Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, to January, 1796, James McHenry, of Maryland; Attorney-General, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, to January, 1794, William Bradford, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1795, Charles Lee, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Joseph Habersham, of Georgia.

Third Administration—Adams, 1797–1801.

President, John Adams, of Massachusetts; Vice-President, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts, to May, 1800, John Marshall, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Oliver Wolcott, of Massachusetts, to January, 1801; Secretary of War, James McHenry, of Maryland, to May, 1800, Roger Griswold, of Connecticut; Secretary of the Navy, George Cabot, of Massachusetts, to March, 1798, Benj. Stoddert, of Maryland; Attorney-General, Charles Lee, of Virginia, to February, 1801, Theo. Parsons, of Massachusetts; Postmaster-General, Gideon Granger, of Connecticut.

Fourth Administration—Jefferson, 1801–1805.

President, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; Vice-President, Aaron Burr, of New York; Secretary of State, James Madison, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania;

Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Navy, Robert Smith, of Maryland; Attorney-General, Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts.

Fifth Administration—Jefferson, 1805–1809.

President, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; Vice-President, George Clinton, of New York; Secretary of State, James Madison, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Navy, Jacob Crowninshield, of Massachusetts; Attorney-General, Robert Smith, of Maryland, to August, 1805, John Breckinridge, of Kentucky, to January, 1807, Cæsar A. Rodney, of Pennsylvania.

Sixth Administration—Madison, 1809–1813.

President, James Madison, of Virginia; Vice-President, George Clinton, of New York; Secretary of State, Robert Smith, of Maryland, to April, 1811, James Monroe, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, William Eustis, of Massachusetts, to January, 1813, John Armstrong, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Paul Hamilton, of South Carolina, to January, 1813, William Jones, of Pennsylvania; Attorney-General, Cæsar A. Rodney, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1811, William Pinckney, of Maryland.

Seventh Administration—Madison, 1813-1817.

President, James Madison, of Virginia; Vice-President, Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts; Secretary of State, James Monroe, of Virginia; Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, to February, 1814, George W. Campbell, of Tennessee, to October, 1814, Alex. James Dallas, of Pennsylvania, to October, 1816, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Secretary of War, James Monroe, to August, 1815, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Secretary of the Navy, William P. Jones, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1814, B. W. Crowninshield, of Massachusetts; Attorney-General, William Pinckney, of Maryland, to February, 1814, Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania; Postmaster-General, Return J. Meigs, of Ohio.

Eighth Administration—Monroe, 1817-1821.

President, James Monroe, of Virginia; Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York; Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Secretary of War, Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, to April, 1817, George Graham, of Virginia, to October, 1817, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of the Navy, B. W. Crowninshield, of Massachusetts, to November, 1818, Smith Thompson, of New York; Attorney-General, Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, to November, 1817, Wm. Wirt, of Virginia.

Ninth Administration—Monroe, 1821–1825.

President, James Monroe, of Virginia; Vice-President, Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York; Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of the Navy, Smith Thompson, of New York, to September, 1823, Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey; Attorney-General, William Wirt, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, John McLean, of Ohio.

Tenth Administration—J. Q. Adams, 1825–1829.

President, John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of State, Henry Clay, of Kentucky; Secretary of the Treasury, Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of War, James Barbour, of Virginia, to May, 1828, Peter B. Porter, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Samuel L. Southard, of New Jersey; Attorney-General, William Wirt, of Virginia.

Eleventh Administration—Jackson, 1829–1833.

President, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; Vice-President, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of State, Martin Van Buren, to May, 1831, Edward Livingston, of Louisiana; Secretary of the Treasury, Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, to August, 1831, Louis McLane, of Dela-

ware; Secretary of War, John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, to August, 1831, Lewis Cass, of Ohio; Secretary of the Navy, John Branch, of North Carolina, to May, 1831, Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire; Attorney-General, John M. Berrien, of Georgia, to July, 1831, Roger B. Taney, of Maryland; Postmaster-General, William T. Barry, of Kentucky.

Twelfth Administration—Jackson, 1833–1837.

President, Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee; Vice-President, Martin Van Buren, of New York; Secretary of State, Louis McLane, of Delaware, to June, 1834; Secretary of the Treasury, William J. Duane, of Pennsylvania, to September, 1833, Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, to June, 1834, Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire; Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, of Ohio; Secretary of the Navy, Louis Woodbury, of New Hampshire, to June, 1834, Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey; Postmaster-General, William T. Barry, of Kentucky, to May, 1835, Amos Kendall, of Kentucky; Attorney-General, Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, to November, 1833, Benjamin F. Butler, of New York.

Thirteenth Administration—Van Buren, 1837–1841.

President, Martin Van Buren, of New York; Vice-President, Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky; Secretary of State, John Forsyth, of Georgia; Secretary of the Treasury, Levi Woodbury, of

New Hampshire; Secretary of War, Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, to March, 1837, Joel K. Poinsett, of South Carolina; Secretary of the Navy, Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey, to June, 1838, James K. Paulding, of New Jersey; Postmaster-General, Amos Kendall, of Kentucky, to May, 1840, John M. Niles, of Connecticut; Attorney-General, Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, to July, 1838, Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, to January, 1840, Henry D. Gilpin, of Pennsylvania.

Fourteenth Administration—Harrison, Tyler, 1841–1845.

President, William Henry Harrison, of Ohio; Vice-President, John Tyler, of Virginia; Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, to May, 1843, Hugh S. Legare, of South Carolina, to July, 1843, Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, to March, 1844, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; Secretary of the Treasury, Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, to September, 1841, John C. Spencer, of New York, to June, 1844, George M. Bibb, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, John Bell, of Tennessee, to September, 1841, John C. Spencer, of New York, to March, 1843, James M. Porter, of Pennsylvania, to February, 1844, then William Wilkens, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Navy, George E. Badger, of North Carolina, to September, 1841, Abel P. Upshur, of Virginia, to July, 1843, Daniel Henshaw, of Massachusetts, to February, 1844, Thomas W. Gilmer, of Virginia, to March, 1844,

then John Y. Mason, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Francis Granger, of New York, to September, 1841, then Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky; Attorney-General, John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, to September, 1841, Hugh S. Legare, of South Carolina, to July, 1843, then John Nelson, of Maryland.

Fifteenth Administration—Polk, 1845–1849.

President, James K. Polk, of Tennessee; Vice-President, George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of State, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Treasury, Robert J. Walker, of Mississippi; Secretary of War, William L. Marcy, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, George Bancroft, of Massachusetts, to September, 1846, then John Y. Mason, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Cave Johnson, of Tennessee; Attorney-General, John Y. Mason, of Virginia, to October, 1846, Nathan Clifford, of Maine, to June, 1848, then Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut.

Sixteenth Administration—Taylor, Fillmore, 1849–1853.

President, Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana; Vice-President, Millard Fillmore, of New York; Secretary of State, John M. Clayton, of Delaware, to July, 1850, Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, to December, 1852, then Edward Everett, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Treasury, William M. Meredith, to July, 1850, then Thomas Corwin, of

Ohio; Secretary of War, George W. Crawford, of Georgia, to July 20, 1850, Edward Bates, of Missouri, to July 23, 1850, Winfield Scott, of Virginia, to August, 1850, then Charles M. Conrad, of Louisiana; Secretary of the Navy, William B. Preston, of Virginia, to July, 1850, William A. Graham, of North Carolina, to July, 1852, then John P. Kennedy, of Maryland; Secretary of the Interior, Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, to July, 1850, James A. Pierce, of Maryland, to August, 1850, Thomas M. T. McKennan, of Pennsylvania, to September, 1850, then Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Virginia; Postmaster-General, Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, to July, 1850, Nathan K. Hall, of New York, to August, 1852, then Samuel D. Hubbard, of Connecticut; Attorney-General, Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, to July, 1850, then John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky.

Seventeenth Administration—Pierce, 1853-1857.

President, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire; Vice-President, William R. King, of Alabama; Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, James Guthrie, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi; Secretary of the Navy, James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina; Secretary of the Interior, Robert McClelland, of Michigan; Postmaster-General, James Campbell, of Pennsylvania; Attorney-General, Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts.

Eighteenth Administration—Buchanan, 1857–1861.

President, James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania; Vice-President, John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky; Secretary of State, Lewis Cass, of Michigan, to March, 1857, then Jeremiah Black, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Treasury, Howell Cobb, of Georgia, to December, 1860, Phillip F. Thomas, of Maryland, to January, 1861, then John A. Dix, of New York; Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, of Virginia, to January, 1861, then Joseph Holt, of Kentucky; Secretary of the Navy, Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut; Secretary of the Interior, Jacob Thompson; Postmaster-General, Aaron V. Brown, of Tennessee, to March, 1859, Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, to February, 1861, then Horatio King, of Maine; Attorney-General, Jeremiah S. Black, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1860, then Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania.

Nineteenth Administration—Lincoln, 1861–1865.

President, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois; Vice-President, Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine; Secretary of State, William H. Seward, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, to July, 1864, then William Pitt Fessenden, of Maine; Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, to January, 1862, then Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, of Connecticut; Secretary of the Interior, Caleb B. Smith, of Indiana, to January,

1863, then John P. Usher, of Indiana; Postmaster-General, Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, to September, 1864, then William Dennison, of Ohio; Attorney-General, Edward Bates, of Missouri, to June, 1863, T. J. Coffey, of Pennsylvania, to December, 1864, then James Speed, of Kentucky.

Twentieth Administration—Lincoln, Johnson, 1865–1869.

President, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois; Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee; Secretary of State, William H. Seward, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, Hugh McCulloch, of Indiana; Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton, of Pennsylvania, to August, 1867, U. S. Grant, of Illinois, to February, 1868, Lorenzo Thomas, of Delaware, to May, 1868, then John M. Schofield, of Illinois; Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, of Connecticut; Secretary of the Interior, John P. Usher, of Indiana, to May, 1865, James Harlan, of Iowa, to July, 1866, then O. H. Browning, of Illinois; Postmaster-General, William Dennison, of Ohio, to July, 1866, then Alexander W. Randall, of Wisconsin; Attorney-General, James Speed, of Kentucky, to July, 1866, Henry Stanberry, of Ohio, to July, 1868, then William M. Evarts, of New York.

Twenty-first Administration—Grant, 1869–1873.

President, U. S. Grant, of Illinois; Vice-President, Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana; Secretary of

State, E. B. Washburne, of Illinois, to March, 1869, then Hamilton Fish, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts; Secretary of War, John A. Rawlins, of Illinois, to September, 1869, then William T. Sherman, of Ohio, to October, 1869, then William W. Belknap, of Iowa; Secretary of the Navy, Adolph E. Borie, of Pennsylvania, to June, 1869, then George M. Robeson, of New Jersey; Secretary of the Interior, Jacob D. Cox, of Ohio, to November, 1870, then Columbus Delano, of Ohio; Postmaster-General, John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland; Attorney-General, E. Rockwood Hoar, of Massachusetts, to June, 1870, Amos T. Akerman, of Georgia, to December, 1861, then George H. Williams, of Oregon.

Twenty-second Administration—Grant, 1873–1877.

President, U. S. Grant, of Illinois; Vice-President, Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts; Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, William A. Richardson, of Massachusetts, to June, 1874, Benjamin F. Bristow, of Kentucky, to June, 1876, then Lot M. Morrill, of Maine; Secretary of War, William W. Belknap, of Iowa, to March, 1876, Alphonso Taft, of Ohio, to May, 1876, then Donald Cameron, of Pennsylvania; Secretary of the Navy, George M. Robeson, of New Jersey; Secretary of the Interior, Columbus Delano, of Ohio, to October, 1875, then

Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan; Postmaster-General, John A. J. Creswell, of Maryland, to August, 1874, Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, to July, 1876, then James M. Tyner, of Indiana; Attorney-General, George H. Williams, of Oregon, to April, 1875, Edward Pierrepont, of New York, to May, 1876, then Alphonso Taft, of Ohio.

Twenty-third Administration—Hayes, 1877–1881.

President, Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio; Vice-President, William A. Wheeler, of New York; Secretary of State, William M. Evarts, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, of Ohio; Secretary of War, George W. McCrary, of Iowa, to December, 1879, then Alexander Ramsey, of Minnesota; Secretary of the Navy, Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, to January, 1881, then Nathan Goff, of West Virginia; Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz, of Missouri; Postmaster-General, David McKey, of Tennessee, to August, 1880, then Horace Maynard, of Tennessee; Attorney-General, Charles Devens, of Massachusetts.

*Twenty-fourth Administration—Garfield, Arthur,
1881–1885.*

President, James A. Garfield, of Ohio; Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur, of New York; Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine, to September, 1881, then Frederick Frelinghuysen,

of New Jersey; Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota, to September, 1881, then Charles Folger, of New York; Secretary of War, Robert Lincoln, of Illinois; Secretary of the Navy, William L. Hunt, of Louisiana, to April, 1882, then William Chandler, of New Hampshire; Secretary of the Interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, to April, 1882, then Henry F. Teller, of Colorado; Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James, of New York, to October, 1881, Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin, to October, 1883, then Walter Q. Gresham, of Indiana; Attorney-General, Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania, to September, 1881, then Benjamin H. Brewster, of Pennsylvania.

*Twenty-fifth Administration—Cleveland, Hendricks,
1885-1888.*

President, Grover Cleveland, of New York; (the Vice-Presidency is vacant, by reason of the death of Mr. Hendricks;) Secretary of State, Thomas Francis Bayard, of Delaware; Secretary of the Treasury, Charles S. Fairchild, of New York; Secretary of War, William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts; Postmaster-General, William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin; Attorney-General, Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas; Secretary of the Navy, William C. Whitney, of New York; Secretary of the Interior, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi. Mr. Fairchild succeeded Daniel H. Manning as Secretary of the Treasury. Don. M. Dickinson, of Michigan, succeeded Mr. Vilas as Postmaster-General. Mr. Vilas succeeded Mr. Lamar as Secretary of the Interior. Mr. Lamar was elevated to the Supreme Court.

Appendix E.

HOW STATES WERE REPRESENTED IN PRESIDENTIAL AND CABINET OFFICES.

The subjoined statement shows the Presidential and Cabinet offices held by the different States of the Union from the organization of the government to the present time.

Alabama.

One Vice-President—King.

Colorado.

One Secretary of Interior—Teller.

Connecticut.

One Secretary of Treasury—Wolcott; One Secretary of War—Griswold; Two Secretaries of Navy—Toucey and Welles; One Attorney-General—Toucey; Four Postmasters-General—Granger, Niles, Hubbard and Jewell.

Delaware.

Three Secretaries of State—McLane, Clayton, and Bayard; One Secretary of Treasury—McLane; One Secretary of War—Thomas.

Georgia.

One Secretary of State—Forsyth; Two Secre-

aries of Treasury—Crawford and Cobb; One Secretary of War—Crawford; Two Attorneys-General—Berrien and Akerman; One Postmaster-General—Habersham.

Illinois.

Two Presidents—Lincoln and Grant; One Secretary of State—Washburne; Four Secretaries of War—Grant, Schofield, Rawlins and Robert Lincoln; One Secretary of Interior—Browning.

Indiana.

Two Vice-Presidents—Colfax, Hendricks; One Sec'y of Treasury—McCulloch; One Sec'y of Navy—Thompson; Two Secretaries of Interior—Smith and Usher; Two Postmasters-General—Tyner and Gresham.

Iowa.

Two Secretaries of War—Belknap and McCrary; Secretaries of Interior—Harlan and Kirkwood.

Kentucky.

Two Vice-Presidents—Johnson and Breckinridge; One Secretary of State—Clay; Three Secretaries of Treasury—Bibb, Guthrie and Bristow; Two Secretaries of War—Shelby and Holt; Three Attorneys-General—Breckinridge, Crittenden and Speed; Four Postmasters-General—Barry, Kendall, Wickliffe and Holt.

Louisiana.

One President—Taylor; One Secretary of State—Livingston; One Secretary of War—Conrad; One Secretary of Navy—Hunt.

Maine.

One Vice-President—Hamlin; One Secretary of State—Blaine; Two Secretaries of Treasury—Fessenden and Morrill; One Attorney-General—Clifford; One Postmaster-General—King.

Maryland.

One Secretary of State—Smith; Two Secretaries of Treasury—Taney and Thomas; Two Secretaries of War—McHenry and Stoddard; Two Secretaries of Navy—Smith and Kennedy; Five Attorneys-General—Smith, Pinkney, Taney, John Nelson, and Johnson; One Secretary of Interior—Pearce. Postmasters-General—Blair and Creswell.

Massachusetts.

Two Presidents—Adams and John Quincy Adams; Three Vice-Presidents—Adams, Gerry and Wilson; Five Secretaries of State—Pickering, John Quincy Adams, Webster, Marcy and Everett; Four Secretaries of Treasury—Wolcott, Dexter, Boutwell and Richardson; Five Secretaries of War—Knox, Pickering, Dexter, Dearborn and Eustis; Five Secretaries of Navy—Cabot, J. Crowninshield, B. W. Crowninshield, Henshaw and Bancroft; Five Attorneys-General—Parsons, Lincoln, Cushing, Hoar and Devens; One Postmaster-General—Osgood

Michigan.

One Secretary of State—Cass; Two Secretaries of Interior—McClelland and Chandler.

Minnesota.

One Secretary of Treasury — Windom; One Secretary of War—Ramsey.

Mississippi.

One Secretary of Treasury—Walker; One Secretary of War—Davis; One Secretary of Interior—Thompson.

Missouri.

One Secretary of War—Bates; One Attorney-General—Bates; Secretary of Interior — Schurz.

New Hampshire.

One President—Pierce; One Secretary of Treasury—Woodbury; Two Secretaries of Navy—Woodbury and Chandler.

New Jersey.

One Secretary of State—Frelinghuysen; Three Secretaries of Navy — Southard, Dickerson and Robeson.

New York.

Four Presidents—Van Buren, Fillmore, Arthur, Cleveland; Seven Vice-Presidents—Burr, Clinton, Tompkins, Van Buren, Fillmore, Wheeler and Arthur; Four Secretaries of State—Van Buren, Seward, Fish and Evarts; Four Secretaries of Treasury — Hamilton, Spencer, Dix and Folger; Five Secretaries of War—Armstrong, Porter, B. F. Butler, Spencer and Marcy; Two Secretaries of Navy—Thompson and Paulding; Three Attorneys—

General -- B. F. Butler, Evarts and Pierrepont;
Postmasters-General—Granger, Hall and James.

North Carolina.

Four Secretaries of Navy — Branch. Badger, Graham and Dobbin.

Oregon.

One Attorney-General—Williams.

Ohio.

Three Presidents—Harrison, Hayes and Garfield;
Four Secretaries of Treasury — Ewing, Corwin, Chase and Sherman; Four Secretaries of War—Cass, John McLean, Sherman and Taft; Two Attorneys-General—Stanbery and Taft; Three Secretaries of Interior — Ewing, Cox and Delano; Three Postmasters-General—Meigs, McLean and Dennison.

Pennsylvania.

One President—Buchanan; One Vice-President—Dallas; Two Secretaries of State — Buchanan and Black; Seven Secretaries of Treasury—Galatin, Dallas, Rush, Ingham, Duane, Forward and Meredith; Five Secretaries of War — Porter, Wilkins, Simon Cameron, Stanton and Don Cameron; Two Secretaries of Navy—Jones and Borie; Nine Attorneys-General—Bradford, Rodney, Rush, Gilpin, Black, Stanton, Coffey, McVeagh and Brewster; One Secretary of Interior—McKenna; Postmasters-General — Pickering and Campbell.

South Carolina.

One Vice-President—Calhoun ; Two Secretaries of State—Legare and Calhoun ; Two Secretaries of War—Calhoun and Poinsett ; One Secretary of Navy—Hamilton ; One Attorney-General—Legare.

Tennessee.

Three Presidents—Jackson, Polk and Johnson ; One Vice-President—Johnson ; One Secretary of Treasury—Campbell ; Two Secretaries of War—Eaton and Bell ; One Attorney-General—Grundy ; Four Postmasters-General—Cave Johnson, Brown, Key and Maynard.

Vermont.

One Postmaster-General—Collamer.

Virginia.

Five Presidents—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Tyler ; Two Vice-Presidents—Jefferson and Tyler ; Seven Secretaries of State—Jefferson, Randolph, Marshall, Madison, Monroe, Upshur and Stuart ; Six Secretaries of War—Monroe, Graham, Barbour, Mason, Scott and Floyd ; Four Secretaries of Navy—Upshur, Gilmer, Mason and Preston ; Four Attorneys-General—Randolph, Lee, Wirt and Mason.

West Virginia.

One Secretary of Navy—Goff.

Wisconsin.

Two Attorneys-General—Randall and Howe.

Appendix F.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

THE Presidential election will take place on Tuesday, November 6, 1888. The Constitution prescribes that each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in Congress. For the election this year, the electors by States will be as follows :

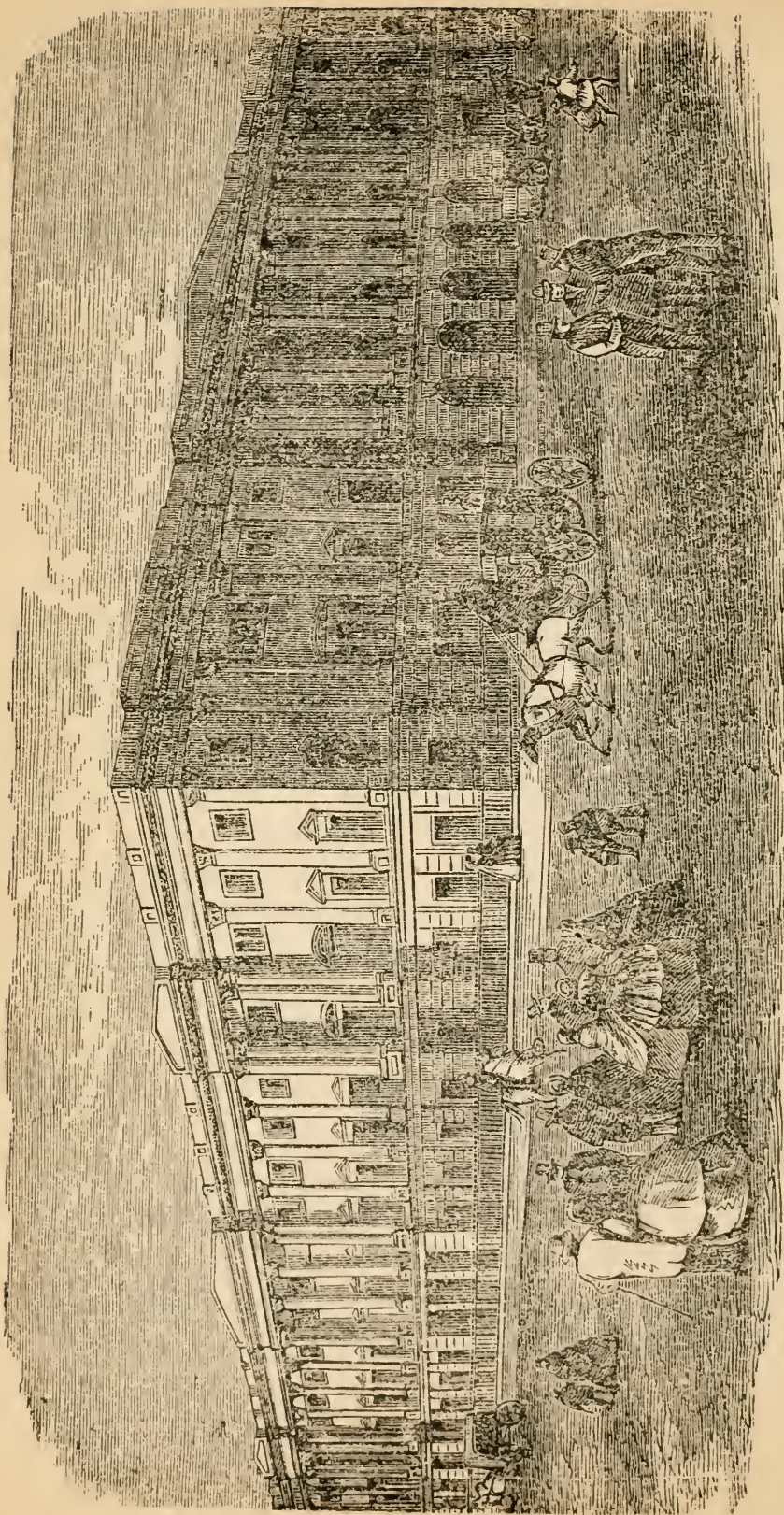
States.	Electoral Vote.	States.	Electoral Vote.
Alabama.....	10	Missouri.....	16
Arkansas	7	Nebraska.....	5
California.....	8	Nevada.....	3
Colorado.....	3	New Hampshire.....	4
Connecticut.....	6	New Jersey.....	9
Delaware	3	New York	36
Florida.....	4	North Carolina.....	11
Georgia.....	12	Ohio	23
Illinois.....	22	Oregon.....	3
Indiana.....	15	Pennsylvania	30
Iowa	13	Rhode Island.....	4
Kansas	9	South Carolina.....	9
Kentucky.....	13	Tennessee.....	12
Louisiana.....	8	Texas	13
Maine	6	Vermont	4
Maryland.....	8	Virginia.....	12
Massachusetts.....	14	West Virginia	6
Michigan	13	Wisconsin	11
Minnesota.....	7		
Mississippi	9	Total.....	401

Necessary to a choice, 201.

APPENDIX F.

No Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of profit or trust under the United States, shall be an elector. In all the States, the laws thereof direct that the people shall choose the electors. The Constitution requires that the day when electors are chosen shall be the same throughout the United States. The electors shall meet in their respective States on the first Wednesday in December, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. They shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify and transmit, sealed, to Washington, directed to the President of the Senate, before the first Wednesday in January. On the second Wednesday in February, the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number shall be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such a majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as

President, the House of Representatives shall choose, immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the vote shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in case of the death or other constitutional disability. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. No person, except a natural-born citizen or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years. The qualifications for Vice-President are the same.



THE GENERAL POST OFFICE WASHINGTON. F. C.

Appendix G.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Sec. 2. 1 The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2 No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3 Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every 30,000, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five, New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

4 When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5 The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sec. 3. 1 The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State,

chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years: and each senator shall have one vote.

2 Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3 No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4 The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5 The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President pro-tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6 The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the

President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7 Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

Sec. 4. 1 The times, places and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2 The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sec. 5. 1 Each House shall be the judge of the election, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2 Each House may determine the rules of its

proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3 Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4 Neither House during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Sec. 6. 1 The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2 No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Sec. 7. 1 All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2 Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3 Every order, resolution or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except a question of

adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sec. 8. The Congress shall have power

1 To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States.

2 To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3 To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4 To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5 To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6 To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7 To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8 To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and

inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

9 To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court ;

10 To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations ;

11 To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

12 To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

13 To provide and maintain a navy ;

14 To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

15 To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions ;

16 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

17 To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the

seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and

18 To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution, in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Sec. 9. 1 The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2 The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3 No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4 No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5 No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6 No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one

State over those of another ; nor shall vessels bound to, or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7 No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8 No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Sec. 10. 1 No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2 No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States ; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3 No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Sec. 1. 1 The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

2 Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives, to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.

[*The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the govern-

* This clause within brackets has been superseded and annulled by the twelfth amendment.

ment of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot, the Vice-President.]

3 The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4 No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5 In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6 The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7 Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation :

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

Sec. 2. 1 The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2 He shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3 The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sec. 3. He shall from time to time give the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as

he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Sec. 4. The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Sec. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their service a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sec. 2. 1 The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public min-

isters and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2 In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3 The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Sec. 3. 1 Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2 The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason

shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Sec. 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sec. 2. 1 The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2 A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3 No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Sec. 3. 1 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, with-

out the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2 The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Sec. 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year 1808 shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of

the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1 All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2 This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3 The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

DONE in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the 17th day of September in the year of our Lord 1787, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

GEO. WASHINGTON,
President and deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire.

John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts.

Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

Connecticut.

Wm. Saml. Johnson, Roger Sherman.

New York.

Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey.

Wil. Livingston, David Brearley,
William Paterson, Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania.

B. Franklin, Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris, George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

Delaware.

George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jun'r,
John Dickinson, Richard Bassett.
Jacob Broom,

Maryland.

James M'Henry, Dan. of St. Thos. Jenifer.
Daniel Carroll,

Virginia.

John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina.

William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight.
Hugh Williamson,

South Carolina.

J. Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

Georgia.

William Few, Abr. Baldwin.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF THE
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Proposed by Congress and ratified by the Legisla-
tures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth
article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an estab-
lishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise
thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of
the press; or the right of the people peaceably to
assemble, and to petition the government for a re-
dress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due

process of law ; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the State, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

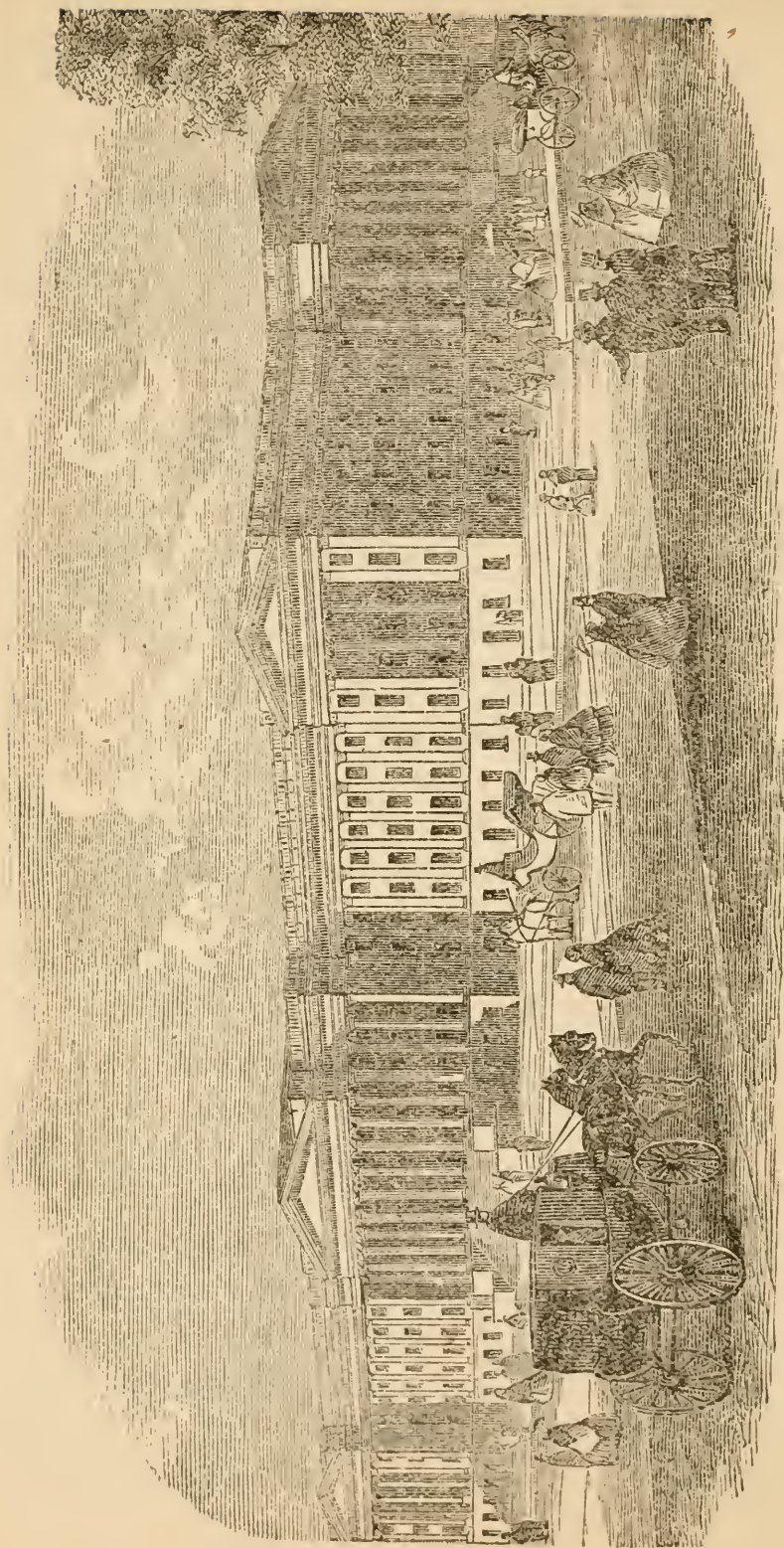
ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall

be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.



THE UNITED STATES TREASURY.

Appendix H.

DOES HIGH TARIFF BENEFIT LABOR OR ONLY A FEW MANUFACTURERS?

THE TARIFF—A REFORM NECESSARY—HOW IT WORKS—
NEED OF A FREE AND CHEAP MARKET—THE GOVERN-
MENT PROTECTS THE MANUFACTURERS TO THE DETRI-
MENT OF THE CONSUMER—PROF. SUMNER ON FREE
TRADE.

IMMENSE sums are invested in the manufactur-
ing pursuits of our country and large fortunes are
amassed by the manufacturers. We export very
little of our manufactures, the bulk being con-
sumed at home, so that the money paid for them
comes out of the pockets of our laboring people.
The cost of manufacturing is generally high in
this country, and our manufactured products can
but rarely compete in foreign markets with those of
the great manufacturing nations of Europe, which
are able to produce goods much cheaper and there-
fore to undersell us. Nearly all of our manufac-
turers are therefore confined to the home market,
and must sell their goods to the people of this
country alone.

It is but right and proper that the manufactur-
ing interests of this country should be fostered
and encouraged by all legitimate and reasonable
means. With great difficulty our manufactures

were built up, in spite of the spirited competition of the cheaply manufacturing nations of Europe. They were able to deliver their goods in the American market at prices below those at which our own productions could be sold. In order to enable the American manufacturer to successfully compete with the foreign producer, the general government imposed a tariff of duties on imported goods. This was at first limited to a few articles. Under the protection of the protective tariff the manufacturing interest of the country improved rapidly. Protection was extended to one article after the other, until we had the protective tariff of to-day, which is not merely protective, but became prohibitory as regards importations from abroad.

More than twenty years ago, to meet the exigencies of the great civil war, Congress imposed a tariff of duties on imports higher than this country had ever before known and higher than any civilized nation now maintains. The protective features of the war tariff have been retained, without essential changes, up to the present time. The act of last year framed by the representatives of protected industries and passed by Congress, to evade the demand for tariff reform, has given no actual relief. In some cases it does not only not reduce the duties, but it even increases them.

Labor and capital have been diverted by the tariff from those industries in which they produce the greatest results. The industries which can be

carried on to the best advantage in this country are checked and in many cases are shut out from foreign markets, in order that others, less profitable, may be artificially stimulated. In many branches of manufacture we lead the world, in agriculture we have an incomparably rich field.

The war tariff, no longer required for purposes of revenue, has laid heavy burdens on the laboring classes by raising the prices of imported articles, as well as of similar commodities which are manufactured at home. From the higher prices of the latter the government derives no revenue whatever. They either permanently or temporarily enhance the profits of our manufacturers. The higher prices and profits represent the money taken by the government from one class (the laborers) and given to another class (the manufacturers). High tariff gives an unhealthy stimulus to some industries and generally results in overproduction, stagnation of trade, to failures among employers, strikes and distress among the employed, and eventually benefits nobody.

The protectionists assert that our present extravagant high tariff brings about the generally high rate of wages in this country. It is absurd to suppose that taxes on the necessities of life and on the instruments of production cause high wages.

It is an undisputed fact that wages are higher in this country in the industries not affected by the tariff, in agriculture, the mechanical trades and the

self-supporting manufactures. The laboring classes, as the consumers, are the main sufferers from the existing tariff which has kept down our foreign commerce. It serves to check importation and to obstruct foreign trade. But by checking importation we naturally cut down exportation, each being dependent on the other. The result of our prohibitory policy is that our international commerce cannot be compared to that of other nations. For the ten years ending in 1880 the combined exports and imports of England were annually for each inhabitant \$95; of France, \$39; Germany, \$34.40, and of the United States, \$22.80. The commerce of Germany, with a smaller population than the United States, was during these ten years nearly 50 per cent. greater than our own, that of France, also with a smaller population, nearly 40 per cent. greater. It is an undoubted fact that the tariff has deprived us of the expansion of our commerce, which more liberal laws would have secured.

The worst feature of the high tariff is that it not only gives protection to the finished products, but it raises the prices of raw products which are used in our manufacturing establishments. Every other industrial nation admits free all raw materials. We not only tax iron ore, pig iron, lead, copper, wool, coal, lumber, hemp, flax, jute, dye-stuffs and other raw materials, but also many finished products which are needed in our domestic industries. These taxes finally are paid by the consumer.

The high tariff men have always declared that high taxes were essential to give well-paying employment to American workingmen. They never alleged that a protective tariff protected those mechanics who are mainly their own employers—the carpenters, bricklayers and masons, or sailors, shoemakers, and other independent craftsmen—but they claim that weavers, mill-operatives, and other persons employed in manufacturing staple articles of merchandise are benefited by it. But the latter have not fared better than more independent workingmen, as nearly all manufacturers and their hands will admit. Ask the manufacturer of cloth or yarns or oil cloth, or any other staple article, if free raw material would not increase his sales; if the cost of production of their articles is not largely increased by reason of taxed raw material, and if the wages of the workingman are increased by the higher price of raw material.

The starting-point in tariff reform is in widening the free list. The tariff never increased a workingman's wages, and never will. It indirectly injures the workingman in curtailing the growth of manufacturing industries. If, for instance, the tax on those grades of wool which we must import were stricken off, we certainly would feel some benefit, and there is no sheep-raiser in the land who would be hurt by it.

Our tariff, which was adopted not for the purpose of raising revenue but with reference to pro-

tection, yields annually to the national treasury at least \$100,000,000 more than is wanted for any legitimate public purpose. This should not be permitted any longer.

The friends of protection have proposed to reduce the revenue by abolishing the internal taxes on spirits, beer, and tobacco. Every civilized government recognizes these taxes on luxuries as proper and just. Would it not be preposterous to reduce or abolish these taxes while the protective taxes on the necessities of life impose unnecessary burdens on consumers and fetter the industry of the country?

It would be a hardship and unwise to abolish at once all protective duties without giving some time for industries which have been stimulated by the protective tariff to adjust themselves to the new conditions, but protection should no longer be maintained at the present extravagant point. The present tariff, with duties from 40 to 100 per cent. and more, should be greatly reduced to a reasonable basis, and many of the now protected industries can well bear this reduction.

The great abuses of our tariff system and the war taxes, after twenty years of peace and prosperity, should be abolished, and the revenue should be brought down to the sum required to meet all the legitimate expenses of the government. Speaker J. C. Carlisle, of the House of Congress, says, in a letter to the chairman of a Democratic meeting to

be held at New York City on the 23d of May in favor of Tilden and Hendricks among other things:

“My official duties here are so pressing at the present stage of the session that it will be impossible for me to accept your kind invitation, but I take this method of assuring you that I most heartily approve of the purpose for which the meeting has been called.

“The necessity for a reduction of tariff taxation and the consequent decrease of the cost of production was never more urgent than at the present time. The maintenance of the existing rates of taxation upon imported goods is not justified either by the financial condition of the government or the interests of any class of the people. With an overflowing public treasury upon the one hand and impending commercial and industrial depression upon the other, it is obvious that we are rapidly approaching a crisis in our affairs which may prove disastrous alike to public morals and private fortunes. A large accumulation of surplus revenue constitutes the most dangerous corruption fund that can exist in a republic. It is not only a temptation, but its inevitable tendency is to excite a spirit of speculation and fraud throughout the whole body of public officials. It is an evil which will not be long tolerated in a country where the voice of the taxpayer can be heard at the polls.

“Since the close of the war more than four-fifths of the internal revenue taxes have been abolished, while the tariff remains substantially unchanged. Indeed, on many articles of necessity in common use among the people the rates of duty are higher now than they were during the war,

while on nearly all of them the duties are much higher in proportion to the market value of the articles than they were then. Taxes upon the vices and luxuries of the people have been greatly reduced or entirely abolished, while taxes upon the necessities of life and the tools and implements of labor have been retained, and in some instances increased. Under this policy commerce has been obstructed, the cost of production has been increased and the earnings of labor have been confiscated. These taxes are not needed for revenue and they cannot be legitimately or beneficially maintained for any other purpose. There is not an instance in the history of the world in which a government has made its people rich and prosperous by imposing unnecessary taxes upon them. Every dollar taken by taxation is just so much withdrawn from the productive capital of the country and from the laborer's means of support, and therefore the plainest principles of justice and sound policy demand that the exaction should be reduced to the lowest limit compatible with the public necessities. To tax the people for the purpose of raising revenue for the public use is a legitimate function of government, and if the burden is equally distributed no citizen has a right to complain either of the tax or of its incidental effects; but to impose a tax for any other purpose is a gross abuse of legislative power, and will always provoke agitation, protest and resistance. Stability in the laws affecting the industrial interests of the people is absolutely essential to the continuous and rapid development of our resources; but stability can be secured only by doing as nearly as possible exact justice to all whose interests are affected by such legislation.

“Hoping and believing that the time is not far distant when the excessive exactions and the oppressive inequalities of the existing system will be corrected, I remain yours respectfully,

“J. G. CARLISLE.”

The decadence of the American commercial marine is directly the result of this pernicious protective tariff. The advocates of free ships, said Capt. John Codman, of Boston, a large ship-owner, before the House Committee on American Shipping, are the advocates of American labor, the labor and profit of ship-sailing, which, as Mr. Roach (the owner of the largest ship-yard in the United States, at Chester, Pa.) has repeatedly said, is fifteen times greater than that of ship-building. They ask to be able to buy such ships, as they are not able to build, to have them to sail under the stars and stripes in order to employ labor that we do not now employ; to induce merchants who have not the opportunity to become ship-owners; to give our captains and officers employment under their own instead of forcing them to seek it under a foreign flag; to raise up a force of seamen who shall defend that flag when it is attacked on the sea, and withal by depriving a ring of ship-builders of only a part of their monopoly to force them to reduce their enormous profits so that in the end there will be no necessity for us to go abroad for any class of ships. In short, with injury to none, with benefit to all, to revive the American commer-

cial marine by taking at least some part of the carrying trade out of the hands of foreigners who are protected by our own laws in appropriating to themselves the whole of the business upon the sea.

The steamships employed by them for this purpose are generally vessels of over 3,000 tons, a class not as a rule embraced in our domestic coasting trade. Their admission to register would not, therefore, interfere with it materially; they would not necessitate that bugbear, paralysis of home industry, which, it is said, would close all our shipyards, and, although we have navy yards besides, would make us dependent for ships upon foreigners in case of war. He asked the committee to bring one particle of common sense to bear upon this most stupid of all objections to free ships which the ship-builders have the effrontery to flaunt before the country and before the committee continually.

Mr. Roach says positively that the balance which is against us is not in the cost but in the sailing of the ship. On the contrary, the reverse is the truth. I do not claim to know as much about ship-building as Mr. Roach ought to know, but I have had more experience in ship-sailing and a great deal in ship-owning. I have been employed in all stations of seaman, officer and captain from 1834 to 1867, having been part or sole owner the latter portion of the time.

I never knew the time, Capt. Codman continued, when in any sail or steam vessel that I have commanded or owned that we could not compete with Englishmen, so long as our ships cost alike. It was only when there came to be that difference in cost that now exists in iron ships that we were obliged to throw up the sponge. We could compete with them under all the disadvantages with which we have hitherto labored, and which are not only to be totally removed by the Dingley bill, but, by the aid of that bill and of the States which have abolished taxation on ship property, we shall actually have an advantage over them. They still are obliged to pay consular fees, we are to pay none; they pay an income tax on the earnings of their vessels, we are to pay none whatever.

Here is the memorial of the American shipmasters sent to Congress from California. They knew what they wanted. The Dingley bill gives it to them, and it gives them even more than they ask.

Mr. Roach produced a table showing that in all branches of his labor he pays more than double wages above those paid in Scotland. And yet, when you ask him how it is that he can build ships within 5, 10 or 15 per cent. of the cost of theirs he tells you it is because of the superior intelligence of himself and his workmen. He was imported from Ireland, and most of his men were imported from Scotland. I have no objection to that. I do not care how many of them come over,

nor how much they talk of the protection of American labor after they get here, nor of the pauper labor they left at home. But I do object to the implication that, because we happen to be born in Maine, or Cape Ann, Cape Cod or on the Connecticut river, our energy and our skill are not to be considered equal to those qualities possessed by English sailors, with whom we may contend at even chances, with no such disadvantages as those which foreign-born machinists and blacksmiths so successfully overcome. And so Mr. Roach gave you to understand that, on account of our miserable inefficiency, even if we had ships given us for nothing, we should not know what to do with them.

American officers, it is said, ask for higher wages than Englishmen. They do, but they can get them only in the coastwise monopoly. In the foreign trade they cannot get them—first, because we have no foreign trade under our flag, and secondly, because our infamous Navigation laws have driven them under the British flag to sail either in British employ or in the employ of Americans who can own ships profitably only under a foreign name. I do not think much of the sentimentalism which is shocked at the idea of hoisting the American ensign on a British-built ship while it forces an American to get his living under the British flag.

It is the difference in the cost of the ship that has been mainly against us. When the Dingley

bill has passed and become a law that difference will be absolutely the only impediment that remains. Mr. Roach has stated that the margin is very small. I have always estimated it at 30 per cent. I do not mean to say that it ought to be as much, but, on account of monopoly, it is as much. Relief must come by the inexpensive but just method of giving your countrymen an even opportunity in the ownership of vessels with every other nation on earth.

There was one more point in Mr. Roach's speech to which I wish to call your attention. He stated that he was a ship-owner rather than a ship-builder, intimating that he cared more for the former business than the latter. At the same time he told you that he could not sail his ships without a "postal contract." How, then, has he grown rich under such losses? It would appear that the more ships he builds without profit, to run at a loss, the poorer he must become. The fact is, according to his own showing, the profits of a ship-builder, when he gets a chance to build a ship, are enormous, and can only be curtailed by foreign competition.

His last statement was that he could build a ship within 15 per cent. of the cost abroad. That, of course, included an ordinary profit. But when we find, as by Governor Dingley's investigations, that he charges his customers with a difference of 30 per cent., then you may add 15 per cent, to the profit already extracted from the buyer. And yet he is

not content even with that, but he wants a "postal contract," nominally for the purchaser, but in reality as a further bonus from the government to himself, for he would not contract to build a ship any cheaper than he had heretofore done because of it. And now, gentlemen, you see why we ask for free ships.

Mr. Ellis H. Roberts, of New York, in one of his lectures in Cornell University, has been discussing the protectionist theory of balance of trade. He holds that, when this balance of trade runs against a country, it is in a bad way, and that the only means of redressing the balance in its favor is to levy high protective duties, so as to keep out foreign imports. So, according to this theory, if a nation exports little it is flourishing, if only the balance of trade for the year shows that it imports still less. Unfortunately, however, for the credit of this doctrine, statistics show that some of the most successful commercial nations have the balance of trade running steadily against them. Their returns show that their imports from year to year are vastly in excess of their exports, and yet they persistently refuse to obey the theory of balance of trade and sink into hopeless commercial decay. What to the protectionist is evidence of an unfavorable balance is to them proof of successful trading around the world.

The balance-of-trade theorists maintain that there is a vast difference between foreign commerce and internal commerce. They are willing to admit, on

the evidence of their senses, that there are great and unmistakable reciprocal advantages in free trade between such States as New York and Illinois, Pennsylvania and Texas. The balances of trade in the commercial relations of these States give them no concern. They know that the balances adjust themselves in obedience to laws which governments may disturb, but cannot control. Yet, by a strange confusion of ideas, they hold that in foreign trade one party or the other is sure to be the loser, and that the "balance" shows who the loser is. In fact, this balance, when all the elements of which it is composed are analyzed, might show just the reverse of what the tariff theorist so readily assumes.

To do the balance-of-trade theorists justice, so complete is their practical recognition of the benefits of reciprocal freedom of trade that they would not establish custom houses around the rims of all the States of the Union if they could. They know that such a system would be vexatious and burdensome to the people. But whenever the trade crosses the line to Canada on one side, or Mexico on the other, the whole thing is changed. Up to the line there is no trouble. There is no question about the reciprocal advantages of untaxed traffic until the line is crossed, when the balance-of-trade theory at once goes into operation. Then trade becomes a business in which both sides are sure to be cheated unless they set up barriers for their self-protection.

Yet the duties are not imposed for support of government, since it is conceded that revenues can be obtained in other ways. If the question of government support were involved, people would cheerfully bear the burdens in order to discharge an obligation of citizenship. The duties are assessed on the avowed ground that free exchanges of products up to a certain line are advantageous, but when that line is crossed they become injurious, and must be restrained or prohibited. A barrier must be erected lest the people on both sides of the line obtain too many of each other's products in mutual exchanges, and thus turn their respective balances against themselves. Must there not be a delusion or a monstrous fallacy in a theory of trade that irreparably breaks down when an imaginary line separating the United States from Canada or Mexico is reached?

The advocates of freedom of exchange hold, that if the raw materials of industry can be obtained of better quality and less cost abroad it is better to send abroad for such materials than to force their production at home by Government interference through high duties. The latter process involves much unproductive labor, while in the former the exchange is beneficial to both sides. If, on the other hand, freedom of exchange is sure to involve loss to one side or the other, according to the balance-of-trade fiction, then the commerce and the finances of the world, with the transpor-

tation, the shipping, the banking, the business of the commission merchants, and all the other ramified departments of traffic, rest on a very precarious foundation. Reason and observation teach the contrary.

The *St. Louis Republican* says, in one of its articles on *Frée Commerce* :

“Universal remunerative employment of the people of any country is at once the sign and the cause of ‘good times.’ The antithesis of this condition, idleness or insufficient remuneration, is the sign and cause of ‘hard times.’ Large production and large consumption imply a happy industrial state and generally a happy physical condition of the people. In a free society there can scarcely be large production without large consumption, and large consumption cannot continue for any considerable period without large production. The price of commodities is not of the essence of the matter if there is free and fair exchange. If two articles which are produced at an equal expense of labor are allowed to be exchanged freely for each other, the nominal price is of no concern to the producer and consumer. What injures the body of producers and consumers is legislative interference or some social or economical regulation or prejudice which retards production or consumption by enforcing idleness or an unfair exchange of commodities. There could be no such thing as ‘hard times’ in a country favored by nature and not over-populated if there were no interference with the exchange of products and no undue appropriation of the fruits of labor by any

class, through legal or extra legal intervention. It happens that a large amount of the articles esteemed of the highest utility to the people of the United States are produced beyond our borders at a less cost of labor than they can be produced here. To procure these, our people naturally desire to exchange for them commodities produced here at less cost of labor than these home commodities are produced abroad. The exchange is mutually beneficial. It stimulates production at home and abroad by affording better rewards to labor. It creates commerce and employs a large portion of the people in effecting the exchange, thus adding to the value of the things produced by transporting them to the point where they are desired for use. It is the theory of the restrictionists that this labor expended in commerce is lost to the aggregate producing power. If each community produced for itself what it consumes this expense of transportation would be saved. This objection is absolutely true within bounds. It is manifestly a waste of energy to ship raw materials from America to Europe to be fabricated into forms of use, and then ship them back, at the same time shipping to the laborers employed in the work abroad the food they eat and their means of sustenance while they are engaged in the manufacturing process. Obviously, it would be better for the laborer abroad to come to the raw material. But there is a wide range of articles over which climate and natural conditions are controlling. For each country to attempt to produce them would be a greater waste of energy than occurs in the case above cited. The inducements for every people to supply themselves with articles of desire by utilizing the elements

around them are nearly always so considerable and so obvious as to make the interference of the Government unwise and injurious. The advantages of the cost of transportation are always in favor of the home producer, and in every country where intelligence is general and capital abundant these advantages exclude foreign competition except as to commodities respecting which soil, climate and natural conditions outweigh them. A people whose efforts, under the control of legislation, are limited to the products which are most easily produced in their immediate locality are likely to become inactive and thriftless. To such a high state of civilization and advancement is not possible. There can be little commerce among them, and no great accumulations of wealth. These are the considerations and arguments which control the opinions of the advocates of untrammelled commerce, and who believe that international intercourse should not be hindered by taxation and burdens intended to thwart or control the keen perceptions of interest of the producers and consumers themselves."

The same ably-edited newspaper treats the subject of a tax on manufactures in the following way:

"It is a fact too plain to need a demonstration that an abundant supply of cheap raw materials encourages the manufacture of these materials into what are called finished products, that is, products ready for use. The cheaper these materials are the more liberally they will be manufactured, and the

dearer they are to that extent will the manufacture of them be discouraged. First and foremost, then, American manufacturing interests need an abundant supply of cheap materials, and the cheaper the better, for then they will be able to hold their own against foreign competitors. The height of absurdity is reached when the price of raw materials is artificially enhanced by a government tax; it makes the manufacture of them more expensive, discourages consumption, and, consequently, discourages manufacture.

“ But this is the very thing demanded by a small body of men calling themselves the National Industrial Congress that met in Chicago some time ago. It resolved that Congress ought to impose a protective tax on foreign wool, hemp, flax, jute, ramie, sugar, beet sugar, rice, cotton-ties, cut-hoops, old rails, scrap iron and tin plate to stimulate the production of these articles in this country. Of the articles mentioned, wool, hemp, jute, flax, ramie, old rails, scrap iron and tin plate are the materials which furnish a basis for an extensive system of manufactures, and, of course, to tax these materials is to tax the manufacture of them. A tax on imported wool is oppressive to our whole system of woollen manufactures; a tax on hemp, jute and ramie is a discouragement to that large and growing industry engaged in making sacks, bags, gunny cloth, paper, twine and rope out of imported jute and hemp; a tax on sugar and rice increases the price of two necessities of life to the whole people for the exclusive benefit of a few planters in small districts of three States; a tax on cotton-ties is an arbitrary tax on cotton-planters, and a tax on old rails, scrap iron and tin plate is a hardship to the

hundreds of thousands of persons engaged in working these materials into useful fabrics. The protectionists are eternally urging the necessity of protecting our home manufactures against foreign competition, but the A B C of their policy is a burdensome tax on these manufactures in the shape of a duty on the raw materials they work on.

“Protection is a merry-go-round. Starting out with the assumption that consumers have no rights which producers are bound to respect, it encourages the manufacturer by incipient profits until competitive investment and over-production combine to squeeze his gains out of him. The protected producers of raw material have precisely the same experience. The manufacturers of woollen goods, if they were relieved of the tax upon their raw material not produced in this country, would be ready to enter into competition in the markets of the world with the makers of woollen goods in any other country. The farmers who raise wool to sell do not get quite as good prices for it as they did before the war. Thus both the manufacturer of the finished product and the producer of the raw material have run the gauntlet of protection from the gay beginning to the bitter end. They have overdone their home market, and must look for the future to trade not hemmed in by the lines that divide one country from another.

“The wages of labor are regulated by the price labor fetches in the controlling industry of the country. The farmer regulates it, not the cloth-maker nor the ironmaker, nor any other manufacturer. The wages paid the weavers in America would sink as low as the wages paid them in Eng-

land if the wages of farm labor were equivalently reduced. As protection lays a heavy hand upon agriculture and thus diminishes the profits of the farmer, it diminishes the wages of all labor in like proportion at the same time that it enhances the cost of living.

“The proof that protection is not necessary to the establishment of great hives of industry engaged in the manufacture of textile fabrics is shown by the remarkable growth and remarkable prosperity of such establishments in England where the rate of wages has at the same time steadily increased, comparing favorably with every other country except the United States, in which the prosperity of the farmers has fixed a higher rate.

“But dropping out of consideration the wages of labor, there is no dispute as to the fact that the Government is collecting from the people a vast yearly sum of money that is not needed for necessary expenditure.”

The Philadelphia *Record*, a very ably edited newspaper, says :

“No city and State of the Union have so great an interest as Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in free wool, free iron and copper ores, free coal, and other raw materials of manufacturing industry. Upon the manufacturers and workingmen of this city and State the government could confer no boon so great as to remove its heavy hand from these raw materials, so that they may no longer be prohibited from obtaining cheap and abundant supplies. By putting these materials upon the free list the government would enable the skill, capital

and enterprise of Philadelphia and the State to compete with foreign rivals on equal terms in the markets of the world. All other governments whose people make any pretensions to trade and manufactures admit wool, hemp, jute, coal, iron and copper ores, chemicals and dyestuffs free of duty. The manufacturers of this country alone are handicapped with heavy taxes upon the coarse materials which they change into forms of use and luxury.

“The necessity of creating outward markets for the products of the manufacturing skill of Philadelphia must be obvious. Great and varied as are the manufactured commodities of this city, she has rivals that are rapidly encroaching on her domain. A glance at the returns will show this. According to the census of 1880 the manufactured products of Philadelphia amounted in value to something over three hundred million dollars. The total value of the manufactures of Chicago and St. Louis in the same year amounted to nearly three hundred and fifty million dollars. It has been asserted that these returns are not trustworthy, but they are accurate enough for the present purpose. The leading manufactures of Chicago and St. Louis are the same as Philadelphia's, and those cities supply a great internal trade which is narrowing for this city every year. Philadelphia is on the outer rim of this great home market, and none understand what that means so well as her merchants and manufacturers. If there were no tariff Chicago and St. Louis would be protected from foreign competition by cost of railroad transportation for heavy freights. From the competition of Philadelphia they are protected by the

same cause. While the tariff gives the manufacturers and workmen of this seaboard city no outlet to foreign markets for their surplus products, for purposes of domestic trade they would be better situated if a thousand miles inland. They would have cheaper and more abundant raw materials, and a widening instead of a narrowing market for their products.

“In this situation, is not a removal of the heavy tariff restrictions upon trade in the manifest interest of Philadelphia? If the inland traffic must grow less by reason of domestic competition, there are great regions beyond the seas which would afford ample markets for its surplus productions. South America, the West Indies, Australia and the new Congo region invite an immense traffic, of which Philadelphia would have a fair share. To woo this trade it is vainly proposed in Congress to grant heavy subsidies to steamship companies to carry empty mail bags back and forward to ports with which the country has no commerce. This is beginning at the wrong end. The only true policy is to strip production of the burdensome taxes upon raw materials and the necessities of living. American skill, energy, and power of organization may be depended upon for the rest. The great advantages of Philadelphia's situation on the seaboard would then be fully realized. Foreign markets would be opened for its surplus products of manufacturing industry and artistic skill. Labor would share larger profits of production and the purchasing power of its wages would be enhanced. The wharves of the Delaware would be lined with ships bearing the spoils of commerce from every sea. Give the merchants, manufactur-

ers and workingmen of Philadelphia a living chance, and they will ask no boot from any quarter."

Congress even admitted that the high duty on raw materials makes a successful competition of our manufactures on foreign markets an impossibility. For that reason a law has been passed to refund the duties paid on any materials used in such manufactures when exported. During the depression prevailing in 1878 and 1879 great use was made of this opportunity, and an actual refund was made amounting to more than \$3,000,000 in each of those years. When prices advanced rapidly in 1880 the advantage of this export trade was much reduced, and gradually it fell off as a leading subject of attention on the part of manufacturers. It can now be resumed with much better general preparation, and much superior articles; as a rule, manufacturers of metals are most favored, especially of tin-plate, sheet iron, structural iron, and many forms of steel manufactures. A large amount of such manufactures continues to be exported, with an annual refund of about \$1,000,000 paid in duties on the imported tin-plate alone, and nearly as much more on iron and steel manufactures of other kinds. The law is general and its administration under regulation by the Secretary of the Treasury, on application of persons desiring to avail themselves of it, and these regulations are not made in advance of such ap-

plication, for which reason it is very imperfectly known to the general public. Specific calculations are made of the proportion of foreign materials used in making shovels or other tools, for instance, and the refund is allowed on the ordinary designation of quantities, as 70 cents per dozen of shovels, a sum per gross on tin cans, etc. When such calculations are prepared the export quantity is certified on the invoice and the refund order prepared. About 200 classes of manufactures now actually use this law; among them, axes, bags of jute, boxes of tin, bolts and nuts, cans, copper and copper articles, cordage in large quantity, chains, wheat flour, gunpowder, guns and ammunition of all kinds, lead manufactures, linseed oil and cake, castor oil and cake, leather, locomotive tires, nails and nail rods, sugar (refined), rice (cleaned), shovels and spades, sirup, solder, wire and wire rope, zinc and zinc manufactures, woollen fabrics (when wholly of wool), and many others. The official schedule of designated articles now covers four pages, closely printed, and it might be three-fold extended, even with the law as it is.

PROFESSOR SUMNER ON FREE TRADE.

In February, 1884, Professor William G. Sumner, of Yale College, lectured before the citizens of Media, Pa., on free trade. He spoke as follows:

“To come to Pennsylvania to advocate free trade,” said the Professor, by way of preface, “was

similar to going to South Carolina before the war to preach abolitionism. He who would have argued that negroes were worth more as free men than as slaves would have been regarded as a theorizer and an impracticable man. Yet to-day theory has become practice there. There are two kinds of protection. One is illustrated by a story told in a Philadelphia paper of a man who asked a prominent railroad man if he did not know that the solvency of his company depended on a duty of 75 cents on every ton of coal shipped to the New England manufacturers from abroad, and if he were not ashamed to ally himself with Mr. Carlisle, who wished to get that tax removed? It is the case of a man having another down and robbing him. Against this vulgar protection no argument need be used. Another kind is that which aims to build up 'industries.'

"What is an industry! A so-called industry that is supported by taxes is only a burden; it is worse than useless. A business that is self-supporting is an industry. An industry built on taxes is sure to fall. When an individual must be taxed to support an 'industry' that industry should die. You can never make a people rich by imposing taxes. To try to do so is equivalent to trying to raise yourself by means of your bootstraps. You can make more money out of the prosperity of your fellows than by taxing them.

"Free traders offer no generalizations that are not derived from the observation of facts. Protectionists are not up to the level of the question. They imagine it has something to do with Adam Smith or with England. A free trader cares nothing for England. It is a question of America

and American interests. There is much foolish talk about England getting into our markets. How is she to get into our markets more than we get into hers? Why shall we go and buy goods of England unless we find it to our advantage? Sixty per cent. of our exports go to England. Why, then, quarrel with our best customer? Forty per cent. of our exchanges are from Great Britain. Twenty-six per cent. of our imports are from Great Britain. How does she pay us the balance? She sends goods to Cuba, Brazil, China and Java, and receives in return sugar, coffee and tea, which she sells to us, charging us two profits. She does our banking for us and makes a profit on that. Outside of a few philosophers and humanitarians no one in England cares for free trade in this country. They have the markets of the world. Why should they desire us to enter as competitors?

“The question of protection cuts down to the very bottom of the foundation of society. To talk about protection to a man who knows anything about the part trade has played in civilization is like talking to a chemist about alchemy. It is useless to refer to past ages for proofs of the blessings of free trade or protection. Society is essentially different in this age of railroads and telegraphs. The question is how can 50,000,000 of people get the most possible out of the country. All will agree that they should live as well as they can and get as much out of life as they can. To impose taxes upon them is like striking so much out of the productive power of the soil.

“Protection must be paid for. If one cent comes into my pocket through this law that would not have come otherwise, where does it come from?

It must be taken from some individual. Does any one know of a way of producing wealth except by the application of labor and capital to land? There is no other way. A protectionist says: 'I cannot produce 2 cents worth for 2 cents; therefore, tax this man 1 cent so that I may get 3 cents, for 2 cents worth.' But every man has the right to get the best that the state of the market of 1884 will allow. That industry which we all have to carry along is one that does not pay. If you can't compete with others, then don't.

If I cannot compete with some one else in running a bank, then I had better not try it. They say they will make the country rich by creating industries. What is an industry? A gymnasium is not an industry, but it is not destroying anything. A lunatic asylum is a burden on society. Nobody thinks an asylum is an industry. A fancy farm is not an industry. One may say it is worse than an asylum. When it takes one dollar's worth of capital to get one potato, the farm is using up the wealth of the country. A protected industry is exactly like the fancy farm, except that the farm is paid for by the man who is running it. If an industry doesn't pay without the tariff, then it does not pay under the tariff. If a man carries on that industry by aid which Congress gives him, then he is using other people's wealth. The biggest fallacies in the world can be hidden behind big figures. You should go behind the returns.

"Take the case of pig-iron in 1880:

Capital invested.....	\$105,000,000
Hands employed	41,700
Wages.....	\$12,600,000

Average per day.....	\$1.00
General average in manufactures.....	1.17
Product, tons.....	3,700,000
Imports, tons.....	600,000
Revenue	\$4,300,000
Tax on home product (same rate as duty on imports).....	\$25,900,000

“Deducting from this full wages and 10 per cent. on capital, leaves a net gain of \$2,800,000. The tax in 1880 was 37 per cent. on value of imports; hence we get the proportion, 11: 8 :: 89: 64.7, the value of the home product in a free market, the net loss being \$89,000,000 minus \$64,700,000, or \$24,300,000, from which deduct the wages paid and 10 per cent. on capital, and we have the sum of \$1,200,000 as the saving that would have resulted if all the men employed in this industry had been paid the same wages to sit still, and the capital been paid 10 per cent. for lying idle, while we purchased in a free market. These figures cannot be got over.

“Take the manufactures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey and Pennsylvania:

	Capital.	Hands.	Wages.	Product.
Mass	\$303,000,000	353,000	\$128,000,000	\$631,000,000
Conn	120,000,000	113,000	43,500,000	185,000,000
R. I.	75,000,000	63,000	21,000,000	104,100,000
N. J.	106,000,000	126,000	46,000,000	254,000,000
Penna.	474,000,000	387,000	134,000,000	744,800,000
	\$1,078,000,000	1,042,000	\$372,800,000	\$1,918,900,000

Five per cent. on capital	\$53,900,000
Wages	372,800,000

Total.....\$426,700,000
equal to 28 per cent. of \$1,918,900,000, or, if \$1,918,900,000 contains the tax, then \$1,918,900—

$\$426,700,000 = \$1,492,200,000$. 1492.2:1918.9:: 100:128; or, if the tax goes above 28 per cent., it would pay better to pay all wages and 5 per cent. on capital to buy off the industries; 28 per cent. tax=11 cents on 8 cents worth.

“If it is true that New England industries cannot live without protective taxes, then New England is not supporting herself, but is living off the rest of the country; then her beautiful villages are a bonus received from the South and West. According to the statements of the protectionists, this is true. The speaker would not admit it. As a New England man he said if she cannot live without taxing others, then let her go.

“We can never get rich by plundering each other. Is it not plain that all Americans support all Americans out of American soil? Then let each American look out for himself. But I am told it is for the benefit of the whole that I am to be taxed. When I subscribe to a charitable enterprise I want to do it on my own account. I don't want you to say I must pay to keep up this factory. Who is going to take the profits?

“A distinguished public man asked whether if New York prospered did not Missouri prosper. If he meant that New York prospered by her own unaided industry, no community in the world could fail to share in her prosperity. But if New York grows rich by plundering Missouri, how can Missouri share in New York's prosperity? Who, then, down at the bottom must pay for this thing? The different States cannot get rich by plundering each other. Nothing can result but great waste of wealth. Mutual taxation is mutual injustice.

“The industry that supports another is one able

to go alone. The lame ducks cannot carry the lame ducks. We have crippled our commerce; it was the weakest. Now agriculture bears the burden. But the farmer is told that he is saved from competition. He cannot afford to buy off competition, for it must be repeated every year. The stockholder of a railroad who rides on the road that he may increase the dividends is wise compared with the farmer who buys off competition. Our farmers need to be saved from the competition of Russia and India. They can compete with these countries only by being released from their burdens here. Mr. Porter wrote from England sad stories of poverty and desolation there. The exact logic of those letters was hard to understand. He had better have gone to New England, where he could have found poverty none the less dire because it was sought to be concealed. There, among the New England farmers, can be seen the pinching effects of the protective system. Ground down between free competition with the West and the burdens of taxation, they are abandoning their farms and leaving the country.

“They would create a market. A market is nothing but a lot of men with products of their own to exchange for other products. Will they create men? A market is ‘a man who has produced something which he wants to exchange for something else.’ Anything which lessens the supply of commodities lessens the market. It is, in fact, brutal and crippling. If you lay a tax on steel, you cripple a half-dozen industries. The industries of iron, steel, etc., are worse off to-day than if taxes were removed. To tax an immediate product of the earth is absurd. If you can’t afford

to get your coal without taxes, then you can't afford to live here. People are leaving Ireland because it is hard to get a living there. There is no reason why they should remain. If Pennsylvania had but one industry, the people would have to live by extracting iron and exchanging it for other things. They might have nothing else and live in great plenty. If others could produce iron cheaper than Pennsylvania then your ancestors would have made a mistake by coming here. If, however, you can produce wheat and iron both and some one else can produce iron cheaper than you, let the iron come in. Those who raised wheat before will still raise it for home consumption, while the others will raise wheat in exchange for iron, and you will have more iron than while producing both wheat and iron.

"We hear much about keeping up the standard of American labor above the low level of the pauper labor of Europe. It seems that we have adopted a standard to which we must lift up our laborers. If this is true every shipload of immigrants is a public calamity. When they leave Europe they are paupers; when they land here they become Americans and must be elevated in their turn.

"How do we elevate the American laborer by means of the tariff? He looks through window glass, if not over 10x15, that costs him 11 cents for 7 cents worth; his putty 5 cents for 4 cents worth; his paper hangings 19 cents for 14 cents worth; furniture, 19 cents for 14 cents worth; paint, 4 cents for 3 cents worth; boards, 10 cents for 9 cents worth; gas-pipes, cast, 3 cents for 2 cents worth; wrought, 11 cents for 7 cents worth;

lead pipes, 8 cents for 5 cents worth; oil-cloth, 7 cents for 5 cents worth; drugget, 2 cents for 1 cent's worth; ingrain carpet, 3 cents for 2 cents worth; bedstead, 19 cents for 14 cents worth; sheets, 3 cents for 2 cents worth; blankets—the cheapest—2 cents for 1 cent's worth; linen, 7 cents for 5 cents worth; shirting, 3 cents for 2 cents worth; buttons, 13 cents for 10 cents worth; woollens and flannel, 7 cents for 4 cents worth; his suspenders cost him 19 cents for 14 cents worth; woolen socks, 19 cents for 10 cents worth; cotton do. 19 cents for 14 cents worth; woolen shirts, 16 cents for 10 cents worth; cotton shirts and drawers, 19 cents for 14 cents worth; brush, 7 cents for 5 cents worth; combs, 19 cents for 14 cents worth; soap, 3 cents for 2 cents worth; shoes (leather), 13 cents for 10 cents worth; straw hat, 7 cents for 5 cents worth; wool hat, 11 cents for 7 cents worth; watch, 5 cents for 4 cents worth; new crystal, when he breaks one, 7 cents for 4 cents worth.

“Now look at his wife. He pays for her cotton dress at the rate of 3 cents for 2 cents worth; woolen dress, 5 cents for 3 cents; balmoral, 2 cents for 1 cent's worth; rubbers, cheapest, 13 cents for 10 cents; needles, 5 cents for 4 cents; emery, 6 cents for 5 cents; cotton thread, 7 cents for 4 cents; do. linen, 7 cents for 5 cents; pins, 19 cents for 14 cents; scissors, 19 cents for 14 cents; hairpins, 3 cents for 2 cents; furs, 6 cents for 5 cents; bonnets, 7 cents for 5 cents; braids and plaits for bonnets, 13 cents for 10 cents; ribbons, 8 cents for 5 cents. If after all this he can get her a silk dress, he pays 8 cents for 5 cents worth; silks, buttons, fringes, handkerchiefs, ribbons, braid, 8 cents for 5 cents worth; sewing silk, 7 cents for 5 cents worth; umbrellas,

or parasols of silk or alpaca 8 cents for 5 cents worth; or of cotton, 3 cents for 2 cents worth. For laces she must pay 13 cents for 10 cents; real diamonds, 10 cents for 9 cents worth, but for paste diamonds 7 cents for 5 cents worth. Real diamonds interfere with no industry in this country. For the rearing of his child he must pay for infant food 6 cents for 5 cents; medicine, 10 cents for 7 cents; castor oil, 8 cents for 5 cents; licorice paste, 7 cents for 4 cents; embroideries, 19 cents for 14 cents; cotton braids, cords, gimps, laces, 19 cents for 14 cents; for dolls and toys, 7 cents for 5 cents; sponge, 6 cents for 5 cents; soap, 3 cents for 2 cents.

“Now let us follow this young couple through their housekeeping. For their brooms they pay 19 cents for 14 cents worth; mat, 13 cents for 10 cents worth; bathbrick, 6 cents for 5 cents; candles, 5 cents for 4 cents; starch, 9 cents for 4 cents; polishing powder, 5 cents for 4 cents; and (if it is needed) insect powder, 6 cents for 5 cents worth. Their matches cost 19 cents for 14 cents worth; stoves, 3 cents for 2 cents worth; paper costs 35 per cent. extra; fire-shovel, 50 per cent.; zinc, 3 cents for 2 cents; coal, 5 cents for 4 cents; copper, 13 cents for 9 cents; baskets, 19 cents for 14 cents; willow ware, 18 cents for 14 cents; wooden ware, 19 cents for 14 cents; japanned ware, 7 cents for 5 cents; pewter, 19 cents for 14 cents worth. Britannia costs 19 cents for 14 cents; hollow ware, 4 cents for 3 cents; block tin, 1 cent for 1 cent's worth; plain white crockery, 13 cents for 9 cents; glassware, 19 cents for 14 cents worth.

When the man goes out to do some tinkering he handles tools of iron or steel for which he pays 7

cents for 5 cents worth; nails, 7 cents for 5 cents; horseshoe nails, 11 cents for 8 cents; tacks, 19 cents for 10 cents, or 3 cents for 2 cents, according to size; screws, according to size, 11 cents for 6 cents or 11 cents for 7 cents; hinges, 6 cents for 5 cents; hardware, 13 cents for 10 cents; saws, 5 cents for 3 cents or 7 cents for 5 cents; pocket-knife, 3 cents for 2 cents; tools, 19 cents for 14 cents; chains, 8 cents for 5 cents; brass goods, 19 cents for 14 cents; lead, 8 cents for 5 cents; white lead, 3 cents for 2 cents; red lead, 12 cents for 7 cents; for his lead pencil he pays 14 cents for 9 cents worth; pens, 11 cents for 7 cents; ink, 19 cents for 14 cents; paper, 19 cents for 14 cents; newspaper, 6 cents for 5 cents worth of the paper itself; books, 5 cents for 4 cents; blacking, 13 cents for 10 cents; refined petroleum, 5 cents for 3 cents; crude petroleum, 2 cents for 1 cent; linseed oil, 12 cents for 7 cents; salt, 12 cents for 7 cents; garden seeds, 6 cents for 5 cents; cement, 6 cents for 5 cents; gunpowder, 19 cents for 12 cents worth; slates, 19 cents for 14 cents.

“We have corn laws in this country, and the laborer puts on his table wheat flour that costs him 6 cents for 5 cents worth; buckwheat, 6 cents for 5 cents; rice, 21 cents for 10 cents; oatmeal, 11 cents for 10 cents; potatoes, 4 cents for 3 cents; bread-stuffs, 13 cents for 10 cents; provisions, 6 cents for 5 cents; vegetables, 11 cents for 10 cents; salt, 15 cents for 11 cents; vinegar, 3 cents for 2 cents; catsup, 7 cents for 5 cents; fruits and nuts, 5 cents for 4 cents worth; pickles, 19 cents for 14 cents worth. Tea and coffee he gets free. For sugar he pays 3 cents for 2 cents worth; toothpicks, 6 cents for 5 cents. This is his “free breakfast table.” He

pays on an average 10 cents for 7 cents worth of what he puts upon it.

"According to the theory of protection natural resource is a national calamity. We get tin, cent's worth for cent's worth, because we have discovered no tin mine in this country. Should one be discovered some one will get 40 per cent. duty put on. If we have a poor potato year we cannot bring them from New Brunswick or Berinuda without paying a tax upon them, yet we have a free 'breakfast table.' The average increased cost of living is 10 per cent. A man must earn his money unless he gets it from the man next behind him, and he may get it from the one behind him, and so on until the man pays it who earns it. He always pays at last.

"The tariff is an entirely impracticable thing; the only practicable thing is free trade. If the protective theory is sound, Congress must devise a perfectly harmonious system to embrace all the multifarious and constantly increasing interests of the country; something in the power of Almighty God alone. The system cannot last. Every day some one invents something else. The only way of arranging the tariff is to give a tax to every one who wants it, and as large as opposing interests will allow. The interests are so complicated that it is monstrous to think of such a theory. If you can't arrange a system satisfactorily there must be something wrong with the theory of the system. Protectionists are never satisfied with the tariff. The Tariff Commission was gotten up by protectionists. A tariff cannot be made to suit everybody except when there is no tariff at all. It would cause less distress to abolish the tariff in six

months than we have endured in 1883. A Presidential election does more injury to business. The tariff system is opposed to every improvement. Tunnel a mountain and you must impose a tax to counterbalance the good effects. The surplus is another obstacle to the practicability of the tariff. When you propose to take the taxes off you are told of vested interests. A free people cannot remove their taxes. The tariff is impracticable because of its injustice. Men will always be found to agitate against it. You can settle no question until you settle it right. When the question is put to the American people as a question of right they will say a man ought to have the right to exchange the products of his labor where he can get the most benefit for himself. We will not rest until we have not only free soil, free speech, free men, but, the climax of all, Free Trade."

No nation or community ever succeeded in taxing itself into prosperity. What a few may gain by protective taxation must be paid by the many. There are instances in which enterprising nations have advanced in spite of taxes upon their industry and obstructions of their trade, and some foolish protectionists point to this prosperity as evidence of the advantages of their system. They simply mistake a curse for a blessing.

It is asserted by the friends of the tariff that the high duties serve only to afford a revenue to the general government, and thus supply it with the means of meeting its enormous expenses. But the burden upon the people consists not so much in the taxes they pay upon the foreign goods they pur-

chase, as in the enormous tribute they pay to the American manufacturer. The bulk of the manufactured goods sold in the country are made here, and the high prices kept up by the operations of the tariff compel the people to pay to the American manufacturer an undue share of their earnings for his wares. Let us suppose that the duty on blankets was 25 per cent. instead of 90 per cent. Sixty-five per cent. on every pair of blankets would be saved to the purchaser. Instead of being forced to pay \$8.50 for American blankets, and \$9.50 for English blankets, we should pay for English blankets \$6.25, and if the American manufacturer wished to undersell his English rival, he would be able to charge but from \$5 to \$6 for his blankets. The general government would receive a duty of 25 per cent. on all foreign blankets, and the people would be freed from their tribute to the American manufacturer.

It is useless to talk of the injury to the revenue which would result from a lower tariff. The tariff, as at present arranged, is not designed for the benefit of the government. It is arranged for the benefit of a small class of capitalists, who are allowed by Congress to plunder the nation for their individual profit. The government receives comparatively little benefit from the heavy burdens placed upon the nation. The vast sums thus exacted flow into the pockets of the manufacturers.

It is to the interest of every consumer that the market be thrown open to a fair and full competition, which will of necessity result in a decline of prices. The saving to the purchasing class of the country will be counted by millions. The vast

majority of the American people will be immensely benefited, and people of moderate means, and especially the poor, will be relieved of one of their heaviest burdens.

There is no good reason why the entire nation should be compelled to pay prices out of all proportion to the value of the article purchased, in order that a few manufacturers may amass large fortunes in an unnaturally short period. The people have the right to arrange their industrial system so that they shall pay a fair price for their purchases and no more. They have a right to protect themselves from robbers and plunderers, under whatever guise these enemies may assail them.

Theoretically, the people are the source of power under our system of government, and Presidents and Congressmen are but their servants, charged with the execution of their wishes. But is this so in practice? Is the Congress of the United States the true exponent of the popular will? Do the people really sanction the "land grab," the Credit Mobilier swindle, the numerous jobs and schemes which plunder the people, and enrich a few unscrupulous individuals, and which bear the stamp of Congressional approval? Are the people really engaged in robbing themselves? It is absurd to ask the question.

Appendix J.

NATIONAL CONVENTIONS

OF THE

DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

BEFORE the year 1831 there was no national assemblage of party men, for the nomination of President and Vice-President, held in the United States. In this year a Convention was held by the anti-Masonic party, the principles of which were, in everything excepting antagonism to the Masonic order, the same as the Whigs. Henry Clay, a Mason, was the candidate of the Whigs, and this led to the independent action of those antagonizing the Masonic cause. In the following year the Democrats as well as the Whigs inaugurated the National Convention system. Prior to 1832 the legislatures of the States expressed their preferences, or the nominations were made by an understanding, that each party would support candidates for President and Vice-President who were entitled to such high honor on account of their distinguished services. Up to the year 1800 the two candidates receiving the highest number of electoral votes were declared President and Vice-President of the United States respectively.

That year Congressional caucuses nominated two candidates for President, in order that one of them

should be second highest and become Vice-President. Congressional, legislative and other caucuses of leading party men were held until superseded by National Conventions in 1832.

Taking the anti-Federalist party of Jefferson as the root of the present Democratic party, it is followed down through the Republican-Democratic party and the Jackson men in their different caucuses, conventions, etc.

The anti-Federalist party, in 1792, supported Washington for President in common with practically all others of no matter what sentiment on national affairs. Supported George Clinton of New York for second place, as against John Adams.

The Republican party supported Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr in 1796.

The Republican Congressional caucus nominated Jefferson and Burr in 1800.

The Republican party supported Jefferson and George Clinton of New York in 1804.

The Republican Congressional caucus nominated James Madison and George Clinton in 1808.

The Republican Congressional caucus, in 1812, renominated Madison, with Gerry, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President.

The Republican Congressional caucus, in 1816, nominated James Monroe, of Virginia, and Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York.

The Republicans, in 1820, made no nomination. No opposition to Monroe and Tompkins.

The Strict Constitutionalists, in 1824, made no nominations. Party divided in support of Wm. H. Crawford, of Georgia, and Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, supported by nearly all for Vice-President.

The Democratic party, in 1828, supported Jackson, of Tennessee, and Calhoun, of South Carolina, for President and Vice-President.

The Democratic National party, met at Baltimore, May 12, 1832. General Lucas was unanimously elected permanent president, and John A. Dix permanent secretary. On the first ballot the States voted as follows: Maine 10 for Van Buren, New Hampshire 7, Massachusetts 14, Rhode Island 4, Connecticut 8, Vermont 7, New York 42, New Jersey 8, Pennsylvania 30, Delaware 3, and Maryland 7, and 3 for Barbour, of Virginia. Virginia voted 23 for Barbour, and North Carolina 9 for Van Buren and 6 for Barbour, South Carolina 11 for Barbour, Georgia 11 for Van Buren, Alabama 1 Van Buren, 6 Barbour, Mississippi 4 Van Buren, Louisiana 5, Tennessee 15, Ohio 21, Illinois 2 Van Buren and 2 R. M. Johnson; Kentucky voted solid for Johnson, and Indiana 9 for Johnson. Van Buren 208, Barbour 49, Johnson 26. The convention adopted a strong resolution indorsing the nomination of A. Jackson for President.

The Democratic National party met at Baltimore, May, 1836.—Called to order by Hon. George Creamer, of Pennsylvania. Hon. Andrew Steven-

son, of Virginia, appointed president. Of the different State delegations appointed to attend the convention, that of Illinois was unable to be present, but sent a series of resolutions, in which they were instructed to vote for Martin Van Buren, of New York, for President, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, for Vice-President. On the third day, a resolution that the votes of two-thirds of the delegates should be required to constitute a nomination was carried. States represented: Maine 10, New Hampshire 7, Vermont 7, Massachusetts 14, Connecticut 8, Rhode Island 4, New York 42, New Jersey 8, Delaware 3, Pennsylvania 30, Maryland 10, Virginia 23, North Carolina 15, Georgia 11, Tennessee 15, Ohio 21, Indiana 9, Mississippi 4, Louisiana 5, Missouri 4,—total 265—all of which were voted for M. Van Buren for President of the United States on the first ballot. For Vice-President Johnson received the votes of New Hampshire, Vermont, 4 of the 10 of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Mississippi, Louisiana, Missouri; W. C. Rives, of Virginia, received the votes of Maine, 10 of Massachusetts, 10 of Maryland, 23 Virginia, 15 North Carolina, 11 Georgia—total 86.

The National Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, May 5, 1840.—Gov. William Carroll, of Tennessee, president. Delegates present from 21 States. On the 6th a resolution was unanimously

adopted nominating Martin Van Buren for the Presidency. Another resolution declaring it expedient to waive nomination for Vice-President, and leave it for each State to nominate its own candidate for Vice-President was passed.

The National Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, May 27, 1844.—Hon. R. M. Sanders, of North Carolina, called the convention to order. Henry B. Wright, of Pennsylvania, chairman. Twenty-five States represented, South Carolina sending no delegation. On the first ballot Van Buren received 146 votes, 2d 127, 3d 121, 4th 111, 5th 103, 6th 101, 7th 99. Johnson, 1st 24, 2d 33, 3d 38, 4th 32, 5th 29, 6th 23, 7th 21. Buchanan, 1st 4, 2d 9, 3d 11, 4th 17, 5th 26, 6th 25, 7th 22. Cass, 1st 83, 2d 94, 3d 92, 4th 105, 5th 107, 6th 116, 7th 123. There were 266 delegates, requiring 178 votes to nominate. On the eighth ballot Van Buren received 104, Cass 114, Polk 41, Buchanan 2, Calhoun 2. On the ninth James K. Polk received every vote in convention: Maine 9, New Hampshire 6, Massachusetts 12, Connecticut 6, Rhode Island 4, New York 36, New Jersey 7, Pennsylvania 26, Delaware 3, Maryland 8, Virginia 17, North Carolina 11, Georgia 10, Alabama 9, Mississippi 6, Louisiana 6, Kentucky 12, Tennessee 13, Ohio 23, Michigan 5, Indiana 12, Illinois 9, Missouri 7, Arkansas 3. For the Vice-Presidency Silas Wright, of New York, was declared the nominee, receiving unanimous vote

of all States except Georgia, which gave 2 for Wright and 8 for Levi Woodbury. Mr. Wright declined the nomination next day. On first ballot Fairfield, of Maine, received 87; Woodbury, of New Hampshire, 56; Cass, of Michigan, 29; Johnson, of Kentucky, 26; Stewart 23, Dallas 13, Marcy 5. On third ballot Dallas, of Pennsylvania, was nominated by a vote of 220, by 30 for Fairfield and 6 for Woodbury.

The National party, Tyler, met at Baltimore, May 27, 1844.—M. Shaler, of New York, chairman. Joel W. White, of Connecticut, was subsequently made president. Convention appointed a committee of seven to designate a candidate for Vice-President on the ticket with Tyler, but Tyler subsequently withdrew, and that was the end of the convention.

The National Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, May 22, 1848.—Hon. J. S. Brice, of Louisiana, temporary chairman. Twenty-nine States represented. Permanent chairman, Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia. Among the delegates from New York to this convention was Mr. Tilden. Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, was another delegate. Four ballots were cast: Buchanan receiving on 1st 55, 2d 54, 3d 40, 4th 33. Woodbury, 1st 53, 2d 56, 3d 53, 4th 38. Cass, 1st 125, 2d 133, 3d 156, 4th 179, who was declared the nominee. There being 251 votes, 168 were required to nominate. Dallas, Calhoun and Worth received scatter-

ing votes on the different ballots. William O. Butler, of Kentucky; General John A. Quitman, of Mississippi; Gen. B. D. Howard, of Maryland; John Y. Mason, of Virginia; William R. King, of Alabama; James J. McKaig, of North Carolina, were nominated for Vice-President. Gen. Howard declined being considered a candidate, and on the first ballot Butler received 114, Quitman 74, Mason 24, King 26, and McKaig 13. On the second, Butler 167, Quitman 61, Mason 5, King 9, McKaig 11. Numerous changes of votes were made, and Butler finally nominated unanimously.

Free-Soil party, met at Buffalo, August 9, 1848.—Nathaniel Sawyer, of Ohio, temporary chairman. Charles F. Adams, of Massachusetts, permanent chairman. On first ballot, taken August 10, Van Buren was nominated by 154 to 129 for Mr. Hale, and Charles Francis Adams nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

Democratic party, met at Baltimore, June 1, 1852.—Called to order by B. F. Hallett, of Massachusetts, chairman of National Democratic Committee. Gen. Romulus Sanders, of North Carolina, president *pro tem*. Thirty States represented, South Carolina sending no delegation. Among the delegates were Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, Hendrick B. Wright, of Pennsylvania, H. A. Wise, of Virginia, Montgomery Blair, of Missouri, Thurman, of Ohio. Permanent president, John W. Davis, of Indiana.

Pierce received his first votes on the 35th ballot, Virginia voting solid for him. On the 36th Maine added 8, New Hampshire 5, and Tennessee 2. On the 37th Tennessee's 2 left him and voted for Cass, while 1 Massachusetts was added to Pierce, making it 29. It stood at this to the 46th ballot, when Maryland gave him 3 and Kentucky 12, making his total 44. On the 47th 3 more Massachusetts votes were cast for him and 2 more Maryland votes, carrying it up to 49. On the 48th Rhode Island voted 4 for him, and on the 49th Pierce received every vote except 1 blank in Ohio, 2 for Cass in Ohio, 2 for Douglas in Ohio, and 1 for Butler in Ohio. Balloting commenced Thursday, June 3, and concluded on Monday, June 7.

	Cass.	Buchanan.	Douglas.	Marcy.		Cass.	Buchanan.	Douglas.	Marcy.	Pierce.
1.....	116	93	20	27	16.....	99	87	51	26	...
2.....	118	95	23	27	17.....	99	87	50	26	...
3.....	119	94	21	26	18.....	96	85	56	25	...
4.....	115	89	31	25	19.....	89	85	63	26	...
5.....	114	88	34	26	20.....	81	92	64	26	...
6.....	114	88	34	26	21.....	60	102	64	26	...
7.....	113	88	34	26	22.....	43	104	77	26	...
8.....	113	88	34	26	23.....	37	103	78	26	...
9.....	112	87	39	27	24.....	33	103	80	26	...
10.....	111	86	40	27	25.....	34	101	79	26	...
11.....	101	87	50	27	26.....	33	101	80	26	...
12.....	98	88	51	27	27.....	32	98	85	26	...
13.....	98	88	51	26	28.....	28	96	88	26	...
14.....	99	87	51	26	29.....	27	93	91	26	...
15.....	99	87	51	26	30.....	33	91	92	26	...

	Cass.	Buchanan.	Douglas.	Marcy.	Pierce.		Cass.	Buchanan.	Douglas.	Marcy.	Pierce.
31...	65	78	92	26	....	41...	107	27	33	85	29
32...	98	74	80	26	....	42...	101	27	33	91	29
33...	123	72	60	25	....	43...	101	27	33	91	29
34...	130	49	53	33	....	44...	101	27	33	91	29
35 ..	131	39	52	44	15	45...	101	27	33	91	29
36...	122	28	43	58	30	46...	78	28	32	98	44
37...	120	28	34	70	29	47...	75	28	33	95	49
38...	107	28	34	83	29	48...	73	28	33	89	55
39...	106	28	33	85	29	49...	2	0	2	0	283
40...	107	27	33	85	29						

For Vice-President there were ten nominations, William R. King, of Alabama, leading with 126 votes on 1st ballot, and he was nominated on 2d ballot, there being 270 votes cast for him. Eleven votes were cast for Jefferson Davis by the State of Illinois.

Free Soilers' Convention, met at Pittsburgh, August 11, 1852.—Judge Spaulding, of Ohio, temporary chairman. Fred. Douglas, Secretary. Among the delegates were Joshua Giddings and Gerritt Smith. Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, permanent chairman.

John P. Hale was nominated on 1st ballot, receiving 192 votes.

Geo. W. Julian, of Indiana, nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

Democratic Party, met at Cincinnati, June 2, 1856, and called to order by Hon. R. McLean, of Maryland. Hon. Samuel Medairy, of Ohio, tem-

porary chairman, Mr. English, of Indiana, reading the call for the convention. All the States in the Union represented by delegates. General John E. Ward, of Georgia, President. Convention did not commence balloting until the afternoon of the fourth day of the session. On twelve ballots Buchanan had 135, 139, 141, 140, 155, 143, 147, 146, 150, 147, 148; Pierce, 112, 119, 119, 119, 119, 107, 89, 87, 87, 80, 79; Douglas, 33, 31, 32, 30, 31, 28, 53, 56, 56, 59, 63, 63. Adjourned until next day, when balloting was resumed. On the 13th Buchanan had 130, on the 14th 152, 15th 168, 16th 168, and on 17th was nominated by 296, and which was made unanimous by the convention. Pierce received on the 13th 77, 14th 79, 15th 3; Douglas, 13th 63, 14th 63, 15th 118, 16th 121. Cass received from 4 to 7 votes on every ballot from the 1st to 16th.

On the 1st ballot for Vice-President Breckinridge, of Kentucky, received 55 votes, Quitman leading with 65; on 2d ballot the vote was unanimous for Breckinridge, of Kentucky, and he was declared nominated.

Democratic party, met at Charleston, April 23, 1860, and called to order by Judge Smalley, of South Carolina. Hon. Caleb Cushing, permanent President. Among the delegates were Butler, of Massachusetts; Payne, of Ohio; Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, and Bayard, of Delaware.

On May 21, the delegations from Alabama, Lou.

isiana, South Carolina, Arkansas, Texas, Florida and Mississippi withdrew from the convention. On the next day Georgia withdrew, and that afternoon the first ballot was reached. For President, Douglas received $145\frac{1}{2}$ votes, receiving the solid vote of New York, Ohio, Oregon, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. Guthrie had $36\frac{1}{2}$, Dickinson 7, Lane 6, Hunt 42, Johnson 12, Davis 1, Pierce 1, Toucey $2\frac{1}{2}$. The Douglas vote changed very little on the twelve ballots taken that day, having $150\frac{1}{2}$ on the 12th. There was but very little change in any of the ballots, and practically the 12th was the same as the 1st.

The seceding delegations met same evening, calling Mr. Bayard, of Delaware, to the chair, but on account of physical disability Hon. J. C. Preston became chairman.

On Wednesday 43 more ballots were taken, with practically no change, Douglas on the 55th having $151\frac{1}{2}$, just one more vote than on the 12th. Guthrie on the 55th had $65\frac{1}{2}$, Hunter $20\frac{1}{2}$, and the rest scattering. On Thursday no additional ballots were taken, and the convention finally adjourned to meet in Baltimore on June 18.

The seceding delegates convened same day, with Senator Bayard, of Delaware, in the chair, and finally a resolution was carried for a Southern Convention to be held in Richmond the second Monday in June.

Seceders' Convention called to order by Senator

Lubrick. All the seceding States were represented but Delaware. John Irwin, of Alabama, permanent chairman. Convention adjourned next day to await result of Baltimore Convention.

Baltimore Convention, June 18, 1860.—Hon. Caleb Cushing, permanent chairman. On the fourth day several of the seceding delegations were readmitted, when there was another secession movement culminating in the withdrawal of Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. On Saturday afternoon balloting was reached, with 22 States in the convention, as follows: Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Minnesota, California, and Oregon, casting 105 votes, all of which were for John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, who was thus unanimously nominated. Jos. Lane, of Oregon, was nominated for Vice-President on first ballot, receiving 105 votes.

The seceding delegates held convention in Baltimore on the same date, and proceeded to ballot, with the following result on the first vote: Douglas 173½, Guthrie 9, Breckinridge 5, and 1 for Seymour, and 1 for Boccock; twenty-five States voting, as follows: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Ar-

kansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Kansas, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota. Benjamin Fitzpatrick, of Alabama, was nominated for Vice-President by unanimous vote on first ballot.

The National Democratic Convention met at Chicago, August 29, 1864, and was called to order by August Belmont; Horatio Seymour, permanent president. Following States represented: Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Kansas, California, Oregon, Maine, Delaware and Maryland. McClellan was nominated on first ballot, by a vote of 202½ to 23½ for Seymour. Of the latter votes Delaware cast 3, Maryland 7, Ohio 6, Indiana 3½, Missouri 4. For Vice-President, on first ballot Guthrie received 65½, Pendleton 54½, Voorhees 13, Cass 26, Dodge 9, Carter 16, Powell 32½, and Phillips 8. On second ballot New York changed from Guthrie, and threw its whole vote to Pendleton. Other candidates were withdrawn, and Pendleton unanimously elected.

The National Democratic Convention met at New York, July 4, 1868, and was called to order by August Belmont, Hon. Henry S. Palmer, of Wisconsin, temporary chairman. Horatio Seymour, of New York, permanent president. First ballot, Pendleton 105, Hancock 33½, Johnson 65, English

16, Hendricks 2½, Reverdy Johnson 8½, Doolittle 13, Parker 13, Packer 36, Church 23. Whole number cast 313, necessary to a choice 212. On the second ballot Texas changed from Johnson to Hancock, Virginia gave F. P. Blair 10. On third ballot Virginia went to Pendleton with 10 votes. On fourth ballot remained about the same. On fifth Florida left Hancock and went to Doolittle, Michigan changed from Reverdy Johnson to Hendricks, North Carolina split her vote and gave Hancock majority of it, Georgia added 9 to Blair, and Arkansas 3 to Pendleton, Indiana went to Pendleton, increasing his vote to 122. On sixth ballot very little change. Adjourned to next day. On seventh ballot Pendleton gained 15. Eighth ballot New York cast 33 votes for Hendricks, and Louisiana went from Hancock to Pendleton, Mississippi voted solid for Pendleton, increasing his vote to 156½ to 75 for Hendricks, others scattering. On the ninth ballot Pendleton dropped off to 144, and Hendricks went up to 80½. Tenth ballot Hendricks gained 2, Pendleton 3. Eleventh ballot Pendleton lost 3, and Hendricks gained 5. Twelfth ballot about the same. Thirteenth ballot but little change. Fourteenth ballot Nebraska went from Pendleton to Hendricks, Tennessee dropped Johnson, and divided his vote between Pendleton and Hendricks, Pennsylvania cast 26 for Hancock, carrying his vote to 56. Fifteenth ballot Pendleton 129½, Hancock 79½, Hendricks 82½. Sixteenth ballot Arkansas

changed from Pendleton to Hancock, Georgia ditto, Louisiana, Mississippi and Missouri gave him 2 additional votes, Maryland gave him $5\frac{1}{2}$ of her 7. At the close of the ballot Hancock led with $113\frac{1}{2}$, Pendleton $107\frac{1}{2}$, Hendricks $70\frac{1}{2}$, others scattering. On seventeenth ballot Alabama changed to Hancock, Arkansas, Connecticut and other States centring on him; result as announced, Hancock $137\frac{1}{2}$, Pendleton $70\frac{1}{2}$, Hendricks 80. On eighteenth ballot Illinois cast her solid vote for Hendricks, and on the result put Hancock in the lead with $144\frac{1}{2}$, and Pendleton third man. Adjourned until next day. Nineteenth ballot Connecticut returned to English and Delaware went to Hancock, Tennessee cast her entire vote for Hancock, Pennsylvania cast 26 for him; result, Hancock had lost 9 votes on last vote of previous day and Hendricks had gained. On twentieth ballot Pendleton having withdrawn, Hancock went up again to $142\frac{1}{2}$, and Hendricks 121. On the twenty-first Hancock was still in the lead, with, however, but $3\frac{1}{2}$ votes ahead of Hendricks. On twenty-second ballot Ohio nominated Seymour, giving him her solid vote. Seymour declined. On the twenty-third ballot Hendricks went to the front with $145\frac{1}{2}$, Hancock $123\frac{1}{2}$, Seymour 45. Before result was announced State after State changed from Hendricks and Hancock, and thence to Seymour, and he received the unanimous vote of the convention, 317 votes, and was declared nominated. The highest vote received by Pendle-

ton during the contest was 156½, the highest for Hendricks 145, Hancock 144½.

Francis P. Blair, of Missouri, nominated for Vice-President by unanimous vote of the convention.

The Liberal Republican Convention met at Cincinnati, May 1, 1872. Col. Grosvenor, of St. Louis, called the convention to order; Judge Stanley Matthews, of Ohio, temporary chairman. Permanent president, Carl Schurz. First ballot, Adams 203, Trumbull 108, Davis 92½, Greeley 147, Brown 98, Curtin 62, Chase 2½, Sumner 1. Second ballot, Greeley 245, Adams 243, Trumbull 148, Davis 81, balance scattering; whole vote 714, necessary to choice 358. On third ballot Greeley gained 13, Trumbull 8, Adams went to head with 264. Fourth ballot with little change. Fifth ballot Adams had reached 309, Greeley remaining same as on third. Sixth ballot Adams went to 324, and Greeley to 332; before vote was announced McClure changed Pennsylvania from Adams to 50 for Greeley, and other States followed suit, and Greeley was nominated.

Gratz Brown, of Missouri, was nominated on first ballot by vote of 435 to 175 for Julian, 75 for Walker, 36 for Tipton, and 8 for Palmer.

The National Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, July 9, 1872, and was called to order by August Belmont. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, temporary chairman; Senator Doolittle, permanent

chairman. Nominations of Greeley and Brown indorsed.

The National Democratic Convention met at St. Louis, June 27, 1876, and was called to order by August Schell, of New York; Henry Watterson, of Kentucky, temporary chairman; Gen. John A. McClermand, of Illinois, permanent president. 492 votes necessary to a choice, under two-thirds rule. First ballot, Tilden $403\frac{1}{2}$, Hendricks $133\frac{1}{2}$, Hancock 75, Allen 56, Bayard 27, Parker 18. On second ballot Tilden had 535, Hendricks 60, Allen 54, Hancock 59, Thurman 22, Bayard 11, and Parker 18. Before ballot was announced Missouri changed her vote to 16 for Tilden and 14 for Hendricks, Iowa changed her vote from Hancock to Tilden, and Illinois to 24 for Tilden and 18 for Hendricks, North Carolina changed to 19 for Tilden and 1 for Hancock. Tilden's nomination made unanimous.

Adjourned, and on the next day Hendricks was nominated on first ballot by all the votes in the convention, 738, to 8 blank.

The National Democratic Convention met at Cincinnati, June 22, 1880, and was called to order by Senator Barnum, of Connecticut; Hon. George Hoadley, of Ohio, temporary chairman; J. W. Stevenson, of Kentucky, permanent president. First ballot, Hancock 171, Bayard $153\frac{1}{2}$, Field 65, Morrison 64, Hendricks $50\frac{1}{2}$, Thurman $68\frac{1}{2}$, Payne 81, Tilden 37. Adjourned until next day. Whole

number of delegates 738, necessary to choice 554. Second ballot Hancock 320, Bayard 113, Field 165½, Hendricks 31, Thurman 50, Tilden 6, Randall 125½, English 19; but before result was announced State after State changed its vote, and the ballot as finally announced was Hancock 705, Bayard 2, Hendricks 30.

W. H. English, of Indiana, nominated for Vice-President by acclamation.

The National Democratic Convention met at Chicago, July 8, 1884, and was called to order by Chairman Barnum, of the National Democratic Committee. Hon. Richard B. Hubbard, of Texas, temporary chairman; Col. W. H. Vilas, of Wisconsin, permanent President. Whole number of Delegates 820; necessary to a choice 547, under the two-thirds rule.

First ballot, Cleveland 392; Bayard 170; Thurman 88; Randall 78; McDonald 56; Carlisle 27; Hoody 3; Tilden 1; Flower 4; Hendricks 1. Second ballot, Cleveland 683; Bayard 81½; Hendricks, 45½; Randall 4; Thurman 4; McDonald 2.

The Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, was nominated for Vice-President by the unanimous vote of the Convention.

In the National Democratic Convention at St. Louis, June 5, 1888, President Cleveland was unanimously nominated on the first ballot. Allen G. Thurman received 690 votes to 105 for Gray, and 25 for Black.



